...MONT
LIBRARIES

JULY 5, 1948

JUL - 2 1948

New Republic

DEWEY

...HOW IT HAPPENED

see page 15

OAK RIDGE WITCH HUNT

see page 12

15¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLANNING

A Broadsheet issued by PEP

(Political and Economic Planning)

PEP is an association of English business and professional men and others in government who believe that the community will have to exercise in the future fuller conscious control over the economic and social system than has been done in the past. Its membership includes people of all political parties and of none. It has no particular doctrine or ideology to offer. On the contrary, it holds that the objective and adequate study of the facts is a necessary preliminary to reaching sound conclusions on policy and action.

Founded in 1935, PEP has pioneered in the formulation of ideas for planning under the democratic institutions of Great Britain. Its work is carried on chiefly through group discussions and by documentary and factual research undertaken by a full-time professional staff. The individual groups making PEP's studies are composed of members who are able, out of their particular experience and knowledge, to contribute to the subject under inquiry. Work present in process includes studies of Labor Relations, Trade Associations, Britain's Population Problem, Manpower, Active Democracy, Economic Rehabilitation of Western Europe, and International Trade.

PEP's work, as reported in its regularly issued broadsheet *Planning*, has proved of inestimable value to American economists, labor leaders, journalists, business men and government officials. Issued about every three weeks, *Planning* costs $4.50 for a year's subscription.

The *New Republic* serves merely as PEP's American business agent; it has no other connection with the organization. To speed up delivery to American subscribers a master copy of each issue is flown to this country and reproduced by offset. Below are the most recent issues of *Planning* published and available.

283—World Economic Survey, 6/11/48
282—Councils and Their Tenants, 5/21/48
281—Population Policy, 4/30/48
280—The Service of Youth Today, 4/9/48
279—The Human Factor in Industry, 3/5/48
278—Family and Nation, 2/13/48
277—Local Government in Bizonia, 1/23/48
276—Manpower Movements, 1/2/48
275—The Agricultural Machinery Industry, 12/5/47
274—Medical Group Practice, 11/14/47
273—A Long-Term Fuel Policy, 10/24/47
272—Framework of Collective Bargaining, 10/3/47
271—Economics of the Orchestra, 9/12/47
270—Watling Revisited, 8/15/47
269—The Plan and the Public, 7/25/47
268—British Immigration Policy, 7/4/47
267—International Trade After Ten Years, 6/13/47
266—Recruiting Civil Servants, 5/23/47
265—Public Relations and the Town Hall, 5/2/47
264—The Locomotive Building Industry, 4/11/47
263—Clubs, Societies and Democracy, 3/21/47

Single copy price of above issues 25¢

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $4.50 please enter my subscription to *Planning* for one year. Please send me back number(s) at 25¢ each _____

_____ I enclose $_____

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____

1 7/5/48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

CONTENTS FOR JULY 5, 1948

5 The Week:
6 The Church and the *Nation*
7 After the Vanport Flood
8 Miners' Triumph
9 South African Retreat
10 Help for the Nazis
11 Henry Wallace's Column
12 Oak Ridge Witch Hunt
15 The Dewey Victory
19 Mr. Hawkins: Delegate
22 Books
26 Theatre
27 Music
28 Movies
29 Radio
31 Bandwagon

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside, Myriam Wilson

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, James R. Newman, Richard Watts Jr.

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Jan Hasbrouck. Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Jane Bedell (United Nations)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y. UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

YOU PROBABLY MISSED IT, what with the Louis-Walcott fight and the GOP convention, but the cost of living is at a new, all-time high. The information came out in the middle of last week, during the Republican show at Philadelphia, so naturally nobody paid much attention to it. But, come to think of it, it's kind of interesting at that.

If this were a disastrous flood, and the water level had just reached a new peak and was still rising, you would expect it to attract quite a lot of notice. Actually this catastrophic inflationary flood is infinitely worse; it is wiping out fixed investments all over the nation. Taking as a base the 1935-39 cost-of-living figures as 100, the mark has now risen to 170.5, or 14.5 points higher than a year ago. It has never been higher in US history.

Just to give an idea of what this means—it threatens to wreck the Marshall Plan. Every time the American living cost rises, it means US dollar aid does that much less good abroad. ECA was calculated on July, 1947, prices. Since then they have gone up about eight percent. That means the $5.1 billion program is worth $408 million less.

There was a nice anti-inflation plank in the GOP platform at Philadelphia. It's a great comfort to hear the Republicans denouncing the "cruelly high prices." That shows their heart is in the right place. But, to be crude about it, there is no more indication in the GOP platform than there was in the GOP Congress that they plan to do anything. Congress took off the brakes, and Candidate Dewey said it would be a "frightful imposition" to call Congress back.

We hadn't seen Earl Warren before Philadelphia. We liked him a lot, particularly in an interview at the start of the convention when he took a crack at Congress for doing nothing on housing, inflation and all the other things it forgot.

Dewey, we guess, is an acquired taste. We honestly tried to put aside all bias, but when he came to the front to receive the big ovation after his nomination and we saw again his bottle-brush mustache, his toothy smile, his dimples and manikin face, we still found we couldn't love him. His fine, resonant voice soared out and there wasn't any warmth in it; the words were appropriately humble, but the speaker seemed to us cool, calculating and supremely self-confident.

It will be interesting to note the contrast between the two Presidents if Dewey is elected: Roosevelt had all the warmth and no efficiency; Dewey has all the efficiency and no warmth. Dewey will try to run America like a railroad. But if we know anything about the peculiar, paradoxical and preposterous institutions which govern Americans, warmth is more important than efficiency. It may take eight years to prove this, however.

The Old Guard—the Martin, Taber, Halleck, Knutson, Leo Allen, Taft crowd—didn't get a place on the presidential ticket, for which we are appropriately grateful. But the success of Dewey-Warren at the polls, if it comes, will bring in a high tide of Old Guard members in the House, whether Dewey likes it or not. And what will happen then?

The GOP platform gives a pretty good sample of what to expect. Take tidelands oil. The Supreme Court ruled that this last great natural resource belongs to all the people under the federal government. The House passed a bill to turn it over to the states. Truman would undoubtedly have vetoed this bill a second time if the Senate had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEMOCRATS' DILEMMA

A special staff-written section is coming in New Republic, which will analyze top-level developments in the Democratic party in advance of the convention and carry full reports on these all-important questions.

MUST IT BE TRUMAN?

Should the liberals stick to a man of known convictions or push a vote-getting personality?

WHAT ABOUT THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM?

Where does the Southern revolt against Truman stand today? Will the party split further on this issue?

WHAT ARE THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES?

Who will be chosen—and why?

WHO CONTROLS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TODAY?

Is there any chance of its being again the party of Labor and the New Deal? Will it survive?

Also directly ahead in New Republic:

- *Another interesting installment on* OAK RIDGE, by Richard Gehman; describing the causes of worker discontent prevalent in that A-bomb city.
- News of the New Party. Complete convention coverage. New Party aims, program, candidates and probable effect on the congressional elections.

It pays to subscribe to New Republic and follow the news of all the Presidential candidates and the exciting campaign ahead. Many other special features are being planned as well, for your reading information and pleasure. Sign and mail coupon below today. Include the low-cost gift subscriptions for your friends.

Send _____ subscriptions of 17 weeks of New Republic at $2 per subscription to the following: I enclose $_____. (Canadian, Foreign: $2.35.)

Name_____ Name_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, Zone, State_____ City, Zone, State_____

SENT BY_____

ADDRESS_____

CLIP & MAIL TO: NEW REPUBLIC • 40 EAST 49th STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

7-5-48

passed it again, but it got lost in the last-minute shuffle. Will Dewey veto it? Certainly not; it says right in the GOP platform that the states should get this oil in the marginal lands.

There is another interesting little item in the GOP platform declaring that "the federal government shall as soon as practicable withdraw or reduce those taxes which can best be administered by local governments, with particular consideration of . . . inheritance taxes." The federal government has been collecting inheritance taxes since 1916. On a $10 million inheritance it now collects around $7 million.

The states have such taxes, too, but interstate competition for wealthy residents has tended to keep their inheritance-tax rates very low. If this joker means anything, it means a half-pledge to turn the tax clock back 32 years in the interest of the very rich. What a help this plank will be in getting contributions to the GOP war chest from the Fords, Mellons and Pews!

Political platforms are quickly made and sooner forgotten. In theory they acknowledge a party responsibility which in fact under the American system hardly exists. While the GOP platform is still in mind, the difference between promise and performance ought to be emphasized. The platform repeats promises of federal aid to housing, social-security extension, civil rights, health and education made in 1944. On a dozen other matters on which the GOP Congress refused to act it has high-sounding pledges. It is one more example of the inability to pin down responsibility under our form of government, a failure which blocks direct expression of the people's will and keeps us the most conservative of all modern nations.

In Washington, meanwhile, John L. Lewis has won again. Besides the $100 million-a-year industry welfare fund, a coal miner now gets $74.61 for a five-day week. Lewis is well content. The Taft-Hartley Act hardly touched him. He is expected to vote the straight Republican ticket as usual.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 119, NUMBER 1, ISSUE 1753, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 5, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE DEMOCRATS REACT

Publicly, the Democrats are very brave about the Dewey-Warren ticket. Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath and a bevy of Democratic congressional talent have issued all the proper statements pooh-poohing the drawing power of the Republican pair, and generally telling the world that "we are bigger and better and braver than they are."

But no one takes any of this very seriously. Almost all the statement-issuers themselves admit privately that the Republicans have nominated the most formidable combination they could have chosen—all, that is, except the President of the United States.

Truman practically did a jig for joy when he heard the final news from Philadelphia. Close advisers who went into the presidential office immediately after the news came, uncertain of what consolation they could offer under the sad circumstances, were flabbergasted to find the head of the Democratic Party delighted with the whole thing and exuding confidence. Truman assured his stunned associates that Dewey and Warren were a cinch to lick. He would take his campaign to every crossroads in America, and the people would side with him when they heard his story.

His advisers decided that this was no time to remind the President that if the Democratic National Committee had to pay the freight, he would not be able even to get as far as Baltimore, much less to "every crossroads" in the land. The National Committee is struggling at this moment to find enough cash to pay off the few debts incurred on the "non-political" Western trip. And since most of the country takes the opposite view from the President on his chances against Dewey and Warren, the committee is not expecting any great influx of large campaign contributions in the immediate future.

Democratic headquarters can see lots of other troubles growing out of the annoying choices the Republicans have made. If Governor Dewey had gone through with the deal to make the reactionary House Majority Leader Charles Halleck (Ind.) Vice President on his ticket, the Democrats would have had a real basis on which to appeal to the doubtful independent voters to come back home to the Democrats once again.

The choice between Dewey with Halleck, and the Democratic record might have been enough to persuade a number of these voters that it was important to work to elect the lesser of these two evils. With Warren in the second spot on the Republican ticket, the Democrats have a much tougher job. A Dewey-Warren ticket just isn't frightening enough to stir the independents to a negative defense of the Truman Administration, the professional Democratic politicians fear.

The Democrats who have contended all along that Truman cannot win this year are on firmer ground than ever. Everyone admits it now. But chances of doing anything about remedying the situation have almost disappeared.

General Eisenhower made it known before the Republican convention that his mind was really closed to a Democratic draft if Vandenberg were the Republican nominee, and probably closed if Dewey were the choice. The most realistic independent thinkers who have the General's ear will now join the Democratic politicians in attempting to influence him. They will try to convince him before July 12 that the difference in the kind of Congress that would be elected with Dewey and the kind that would come into office with an Eisenhower victory on the Democratic ticket would be the difference between a sound and a disastrous foreign policy in the next four years.

Public Service Made Easy

THE PROBLEM of attracting high-priced talent to public office at no drain on the public treasury and no personal sacrifice for the candidate, can be solved. Only one condition is necessary: the public servant must be musical. Ex-Governor Jim Davis of Louisiana, a part-time hillbilly bandsman and composer of "You Are My Sunshine," is touring the vaudeville and night-club circuit. *Variety* reports that in his first two weeks at the Rag Doll, Chicago night spot, the statesman will collect $12,000, or as much as he used to get for governing Louisiana for a whole year.

By granting leaves of absence to officeholders for theatrical appearances, the public might even induce them to serve at less than the going rate for Governors, Senators, etc.

FROM *PM* TO THE *STAR*

New York has a new daily newspaper, the New York *Star,* successor to *PM* and heir to its liberal tradition. The new publisher, Bartley C. Crum, and the new editor, Joseph Barnes, have been in command for some weeks since taking over from Marshall Field and John P. Lewis, but not until June 23 did they unveil the *Star* as such.

Some characteristics of the New York *Star*:

Still a tabloid, of the same size.

First page now a standard newspa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

per product, with five columns of news and headlines. (*PM* used its first page as a glorified index of the inside contents.)

Sharp differentiation between news and editorial opinion. Unsigned editorials, a departure from *PM*'s formula. One of two in the first issue discusses rather wistfully a soldier-statesman (not identified, but obviously Dwight Eisenhower) and tells how superior he is to any possible Republican presidential aspirant.

The other editorial says, in part:

> Will the new paper be red, white, pink, right, left or center? We propose to publish an independent newspaper, as independent of the tyranny of slogans and colors as it is of vested interests. . . .
>
> The New York *Star* starts as an optimistic newspaper. We believe the forces which supported Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie, which ended the depression, and which helped to win the war against fascism, are by no means dead. The new ordeals and new problems this country faces will draw from its people new energies, new leaders and new answers. For half a century, the majority of New Yorkers have voted for progress, and against reaction. We plan to build a paper which will deserve their support. We believe in the future. We will work for it.

Liberals, in particular, take encouragement from the known progressivism of the *Star's* new managers and the sensible way they seem to be going about their task of combining a left-of-center viewpoint with professional competence in creating a salable product.

CATHOLICS AND THE NATION

New York City took a step backward toward the Middle Ages last week. Its Board of Education, by a unanimous vote of the four members present, upheld an earlier action of the nine-member Board of Superintendents and banned the *Nation* from all public-school libraries. About 250 other periodicals were okayed, including the *American Hairdresser*, the *Barber's Journal* and *Glamour*.

There was no attempt to conceal the fact that this ban was imposed because of pressure from the Catholic Church. A member of the Board of Education, George A. Timone, who acted as a Catholic spokesman, launched a violent verbal attack on two recent series of articles in the *Nation* on the Catholic Church by Paul Blanshard, New York City Commissioner of Accounts in the LaGuardia administration.

The Board of Education consists at present of six members; at an earlier secret meeting they had divided three to three on the *Nation* issue. At last week's meeting, the four members present were also equally divided, but the vote for proscription was unanimous. The two members who were pro-*Nation* explained that they voted against the magazine in order not to hold up the entire list of 250 periodicals, and suggested that the *Nation* could be restored at a later time.

When efforts to keep secret the banning of the *Nation* failed, the Board of Education granted a public hearing. Strong protests were uttered by spokesmen of the Public Education Association, United Parents' Associations, the Committee on Intellectual Freedom of the American Library Association, the CIO Teachers' Union, the AFL Teachers' Guild and the American Jewish Congress. Said Freda Kirchwey, editor and publisher of the *Nation*:

> When the day comes on which the attitude of any church on these matters [social and political problems] ceases to be a fit subject for free discussion in this country, then we shall know that liberty has departed from this land and fascism has arrived. The war was won three years ago, but most of us remember what followed the banning of books and periodicals in the states of Europe. Are we to begin here the process we fought to put an end to in Europe?

Blanshard has written two series of articles in the *Nation* on the Catholic Church. As a result of the first series some months ago, the magazine was banned from the public schools of Newark, New Jersey. The first series dealt with the Catholic attitude toward medicine, sex, and education; the second, with fascism, censorship, science, and American democracy. Miss Kirchwey denies that the articles have attacked the Catholic faith as such, and points out that no Catholic critic has offered specific evidence of bias or inaccuracy.

Said Blanshard, in one of his articles describing Catholic efforts to suppress all books and magazines critical of any activity of the Catholic Church:

> The Church does not believe in the right of any person to criticize its fundamental doctrines even in the field of social policy, and it teaches that it is a sin for Catholics to read that side of public discussion which contains direct attacks upon the Church's position. If Catholics controlled all schools, as they now control the Newark schools, the rule would be applied to all books critical of the hierarchy.

THE MINERS TRIUMPH

The third time John L. Lewis took the fate of his United Mine Workers into Justice T. Alan Goldsborough's federal court in Washington, he walked off with a $40 million grand prize—immediate activation of the miners' 1947 welfare fund, including $100-a-month pensions for 20-year veteran miners more than 62 years of age. The solid front of the mine operators collapsed, and Lewis had in his grasp a new contract without an industrywide strike and with his major objectives achieved. It was a victory which reduced to insignificance the $2,130,000 fines for contempt of court previously imposed when Lewis and the union tangled with Goldsborough.

The decision was a victory for Lewis on every major point involving the welfare fund. Goldsborough held that a majority vote of two trustees—Lewis and the neutral member, Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire—was sufficient to allow spending the money for miners' pensions, death benefits and distress relief without consent of Ezra Van Horn, the operators' trustee. A charitable trust, the court decided, could be administrated by majority vote.

The Bridges-Lewis plan allowing pensions for miners not employed by

(Continued on page 8)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REAL VANPORT DISASTER: HOUSING

PORTLAND, OREGON, is getting back to normal. The Vanport flood story is a headline filed away in a newspaper morgue. Everywhere the flood waters are receding. As the passenger trains again run along the railway embankment that collapsed five weeks ago, causing total destruction to a city that once had housed 42,000 war workers, passengers look with mild curiosity at the "city of water." Portland residents, who opened their hearts and homes to the flood victims, are beginning to grumble now: "When are the refugees going to find their own homes? They can't stay on here forever."

The former Vanport tenants will be staying on for quite some time. Some three thousand of them have been shuttled off to wartime housing units, where they are living in crowded, substandard quarters. Fifteen thousand people are scattered throughout Portland proper, living in stop-gap trailer homes, tents and private residences.

A week ago a Portland housing commissioner remarked cheerfully, "There is no reason why every Vanport tenant shouldn't be buying a little home." Said another commissioner, "The Housing Authority wants to replace 5,300 homes for 5,300 Vanport families." Even then the emphasis was on private, not public, housing. But under the proposed $20 million RFC disaster loan—defeated in Congress—which would have made it possible for the victims to pay back the money in 25 rather than 10 years, very few of the 18,500 former Vanport tenants would have bought homes, at present costs, and without more job security.

"If the government doesn't come through with the money, we're stuck. We don't know what to do," Herbert J. Dahlke, chairman of the Portland Housing Commission, said last week. Today, the blame for the overcrowded, wartime living conditions in Portland is being shifted to Congress. But long before, the Portland Housing Authority, favorable to private, not public enterprise, had failed to act on permanent, low-cost housing.

When the Housing Authority of Portland was created in December, 1941, there were already 30,104 substandard dwellings in the city. Paradoxically, the Portland Housing Commission was composed of men representing the groups which had opposed low-rent housing because it would affect the small home industry in Portland.

With the war and the influx of thousands of war workers, the need for immediate housing had to be met by temporary low-rent housing projects. By June, 1946, the local housing authority, with the aid of the federal government, had helped to provide 13,535 temporary living units, among them Vanport City—a tenant city of 42,000—created from reclaimed swampland on the Columbia River.

When asked why no attempt had been made at the close of the war to provide low-cost permanent housing for Vanport tenants, Housing Commissioner Dahlke remarked, "We were depending on some people leaving." But according to a survey report by the Kaiser company in November, 1945, out of a total of 81,881 workers personally interviewed at the three principal Portland shipyards, 51.9 percent indicated their decision to stay in Portland.

Three years later, 18,500 people were still living in Vanport and 500 were on the waiting list for houses. Yet, when the National Housing Agency asked for estimates on postwar housing needs, Portland was the only major city that did not request additional accommodations.

At the end of the war the mayor supplemented the Portland Housing Commission with two emergency advisory committees, the Advisory Committee on Temporary Housing of which Dahlke is chairman, and the Emergency Committee for Veterans' Housing, of which Dahlke is also chairman. The Veterans' Committee has not met in a year. Dahlke had said: "We aren't getting anywhere because OPA prices are stifling production."

Today, former Vanport tenants, through the Citizens' Disaster Committee, are asking for the resignation of the Portland Housing Commission and its replacement by capable men representing public, not private, interests.

When four-year-old Lanetta Sue Carter was rescued from a tree to which she and her sister and father were clinging during the Vanport flood, she nicely expressed the feelings of the whole community. "Daddy, I'm glad Vanport washed away," she said. "I don't want to live there any more." In a sense the townspeople are glad Vanport was washed away, because the disaster has focused attention on the need for permanent, low-cost housing in Portland.

PHIZ MEZEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buy British

THINGS ARE a little better in the automobile market. The British Jaguar on sale at a Park Avenue showroom has been reduced from $6,000 to $4,633. The cut rate includes a $25 special radiator mascot. American motorists, eager for new cars at reasonable prices, wait to see what effect this example of British enterprise will have on Detroit.

(Continued from page 6)

the specific operators who had paid money into the welfare fund also was approved by Goldsborough. The 1947 contract establishing the welfare fund, the court found, was between operators and the union—not operators and their individual employees.

In a Taft-Hartley year, Lewis had won labor's most spectacular victory. It had taken him almost 12 months to force approval of a plan for operating the welfare fund which operators had broadly accepted in midsummer of 1947. He had wrestled with fact-finders and public opinion, through a new group of publicists, to argue his contention that $100 pensions would not "bankrupt" the fund. He had built up his alliances with Republican politicians to the miners' benefit. Pensions for coal miners were at last a reality, and the pattern of other union drives for broadened social-security and welfare funds was set.

COURT CAUTIOUS ON T-H

Before recessing for the summer the Supreme Court cautiously expressed its opinion about some aspects of the Taft-Hartley Act.

On two counts—the requirements that unions file financial statements with the government and that union officials swear to non-Communist affidavits—the Act survived its first Supreme Court test. But on the matter of politicking in union newspapers and magazines, the 80th Congress had not wrought so well.

Senator Taft had frankly wanted his Act to forbid labor unions the use of their own publications as political-pressure weapons. But his aim was not expressed clearly enough in the Act to satisfy the Supreme Court that such also was the intention of Congress. Unanimously the Court ruled that "it would require explicit words in an act to convince us that Congress intended to bar a trade journal, a house organ or a newspaper published by a corporation from expressing views on candidates or political proposals."

The Court's decision, helpful as it is to labor in a presidential campaign year, avoided the broader constitutional issue of whether a ban on labor political publications, even if written in an act clearly and unequivocably, would infringe basic rights.

THE LADY FROM MAINE

In winning the Republican senatorial nomination in Maine, Representative Margaret Chase Smith has taught her party colleagues a lesson. You don't have to resort to character assassination, worn-out gags and flamboyant promises.

Mrs. Smith, risking a safe House seat, went into the senatorial primary with a good voting record, a quietly convincing manner and great sincerity. In campaigning against a present and a past Governor, she indulged in no personalities and asked no concessions because she was a woman.

Instead she stumped every district, answering questions and explaining why she voted as she did, particularly her vote in favor of the Taft-Hartley Act. In industrial centers Mrs. Smith said she backed T-H because it had been thoroughly debated in Congress and seemed to have general support. Now, events have proved it needs amendment and she promised to work to that end.

Because of her T-H record, some left-wing unions had received instructions from their national offices to oppose her. But her sincerity was so convincing that locals refused to follow orders on the grounds that they couldn't find a more trustworthy candidate.

In a state where the Republican nomination is equivalent to election, the returns gave Mrs. Smith a majority greater than the combined votes of her three masculine opponents. Thus Maine will have a new Senator less conservative and more internationalist than Senator Wallace White, the Majority Leader whom she is succeeding.

MISSISSIPPI MEANS IT

JACKSON, MISS. (NR correspondent)

Mississippi Democrats have bound their Philadelphia delegation hand and foot to vote against President Truman and to walk out of the convention if he is nominated or if a civil-rights plank, unsuitable to the white supremacists, is adopted. To make absolutely certain, the Mississippi Democratic convention ordered the nine presidential electors to cast their electoral votes only for candidates who have "positively taken a stand for states' rights and have condemned the civil-rights program."

Each delegate, alternate and elector was taken behind closed doors and confronted with a list of resolutions to which he had to adhere before being approved. If the delegation walks out in Philadelphia, it will head for the proposed rump convention of Southern Democrats at Birmingham on July 17.

The Mississippians mean business. Their next move is planned for Philadelphia just before the national convention opens, when revolt leaders are going to try to get 15 Dixie states into a caucus. Their ultimate aim is a united plan of action and their own candidate. So far, they have got few solid promises from their neighbors.

SHELTER BUT NO FUN

Canada turned back the clock of civil rights last week. Justice Schroeder of the Ontario Supreme Court upheld a covenant restricting Jews and Negroes from purchasing or occupying certain summer-resort property on Lake Huron. The decision resulted from the effort of Annie Maud Noble to have a restrictive clause rescinded so that she could sell property at Beach O'Pines to Bernard Wolf.

In support of his decision, the Jus-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tice argued that the Beach O'Pines Protective Association had spent much money to develop the area. He implied that Jewish and Negro ownership of land would reduce values, and said, "The notion of any danger to public interests involved in the use of restrictive covenants such as the one in question seems to be fanciful and unreal."

Justice Schroeder's decision nullified the progress made in civil liberties since Justice Mackay of the same court in 1945 declared void a similar restrictive clause in a Toronto land-sale covenant. In disagreeing with his colleague, Schroeder said that in the earlier case the court "was not concerned with a summer colony but with a residential subdivision where the resident sought shelter rather than recreation."

Canadian church, labor and community leaders were quick to call attention to the new form of racial discrimination—a willingness to concede the right of all races to equality in shelter but not in recreation. The decision has already brought many demands from liberals for legislation specifically outlawing restrictive covenants.

LID OFF DOWN UNDER

MELBOURNE (NR correspondent)

Australian liberals fear that steep price increases and inflation will soon begin to disturb the Commonwealth's economy as a result of the recent referendum turning down continued federal price control and reverting to the old system of economic states' rights. Price and rent controls, exercised by the federal government since 1939, will revert to the separate states at the end of August because of the refusal of the electorate to permit an amendment to the Constitution that would have made possible their permanent continuation.

Liberals put the blame for the backward step on the influence of reactionary members of the upper houses of the legislatures of the states. These houses are made up largely of representatives of industrialists, property owners and businessmen, elected on

South Africa Turns Backward

LONDON (NR correspondent)

OUT-AND-OUT NAZIS in the ranks of the Dutch Nationalists who now run South Africa are beginning to throw their weight around. Obviously this is bad news for liberals everywhere. What is worse, especially for Americans, is that these reactionaries say they are following Washington's policy lead, and expect American approval of their anti-democratic practices.

The key to the puzzle is the Truman Doctrine. Leaders of the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties, which defeated the United Party, interpret America's anti-communism as justifying their own brand of extreme Nazi-type reaction. It is even reported that Premier Daniel F. Malan counts on getting Washington to look the other way while his government makes an outright grab of South-West Africa. In exchange, he is said to be considering an offer of concessions to American private business, thus weakening ties with Britain's Labor Government.

One of the first acts of the Malan government was the release from prison of five men convicted of wartime Nazi activities: Sidney R. Leibbrandt, who became a Nazi in 1936 and was landed in South Africa by a Nazi submarine during the war; Julian D. Visser and Hendrik S. van Blerk, who blew up a post office in the Transvaal; Jan A. Strauss and Michael J. Pienaar, who broadcast Nazi propaganda.

This step was taken by Justice Minister Charles R. Swart, who is said to represent the relatively moderate views of Malan and the Afrikaner leader, Finance Minister Nicholas C. Havenga. Observers believe much worse can be expected as Malan and Havenga are forced gradually to yield to the pressure of more openly pro-Nazi members of the cabinet such as Johannes G. Strydom, Minister of Lands, and Eric H. Louw, Minister of Mines and Economic Development. The most extreme reactionaries, *e.g.*, the leaders of the Ossewa-Brandwag, are beginning to act as the Nazis in Germany might be expected to act if the Allied occupation authorities left the country to its own resources and impulses.

Worse than the release of the wartime traitors is the triumph of *apartheid*: absolute race segregation, which means not a shred of equality in the home, the church or the state, and absolute denial of civil liberties. While Havenga suggests a continuation of the mildly progressive race policies of Jan H. Hofmeyr, the labor and public-works post in the cabinet is held by Barend J. Schoeman, who said during the war that "the whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory."

In beating the United Party, the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties not only carried the rural areas but made gains in the towns, especially on the Rand. According to a writer in the *New Statesman* (London), it is expected that the new government will increase the restrictions on immigration of Negroes to the towns. This will satisfy both Afrikaner farmers who want to hold cheap-priced Negro labor and Afrikaner townsmen who want to hold their jobs.

It is also expected that the Unemployed Assistance Act will become a dead letter, that attacks on Indians in Natal will be renewed, that the three seats held in the legislature by white representatives of natives will be lost, and even that colored voters will lose their franchise. After this, anti-Semitism and anti-English activities will also grow. The situation is tailor-made for Moscow propagandists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a basis of limited-property franchise.

During and after World War II, federal price control helped the Commonwealth weather economic storms, but now, the liberals fear, trouble lies ahead. Since goods produced in one state will be salable in other states at uncontrolled prices, there will be a big increase in interstate traffic in scarce goods. The recent termination of rationing of meat and clothing will put further strain on supplies. Naturally, prices will rise.

The Premiers of the six states of the Commonwealth have taken note of the problem. Meeting in Canberra, they have agreed to create a national coördinating committee for controlling prices. But at the same time they have also agreed in principle to eliminate as many controls as practicable. This contradiction is seen here as balancing a little plus with a big minus, and leaving the situation a trifle worse than when the Premiers deigned to take note. A campaign to get protective legislation through the various legislatures is now being organized.

JEEPS AND REBEL ROBOTS

TWO EVENTS of possibly great significance occurred last week in the realm of experiment and mechanical progress. A robot target plane broke from its orbit and flew, free of all human control, over part of New England before crashing gloriously into the sea, and the borough president of Queens demonstrated that man can travel through sewers by jeep.

The phenomena, taken in combination, suggest a future in which men jeep beneath the earth's surface to escape the vengeance of rebellious rockets, guided missiles and pilotless aircraft.

The insurgent drone went haywire while being shot at by the *USS Providence* in Buzzards Bay. It soared over Massachusetts and Rhode Island at 190 m.p.h. for a couple of hours, then died southwest of Martha's Vineyard. The jeep experiment was less spectacular but still impressive. The Queens president led 30 persons in 15 jeeps through four miles of new sewer under Long Island before running into a sewer too small for even a jeep.

HELP FOR DESTITUTE NAZIS

by Frederick Ford

BERLIN

WHILE SOVIET RESTRICTIONS on traffic between Berlin and the western zones of Germany have been getting the headlines in the US press, an important shift in Soviet policy toward the Germans has been neglected. This is the slow development of Moscow sponsorship of a new German nationalist, anti-capitalist party calling itself the "National-Democratic Party."

The new party appeals quite frankly for support to former Nazis. The party newspaper, *National-Zeitung,* licensed and sponsored by Soviet HQ at Karlshorst, has actually launched a fund to help "destitute former Nazis released from Allied internment camps."

Both US and British officials have protested vigorously in the Kommandatura, the four-power body that governs Berlin, against the formation of the National-Democratic Party, which British representatives describe as "simply a revival of the Nazi Party." At the same time, it is no secret here that General Clay and General Robertson are seriously worried by the support the new party is gaining from Germans. The comment is current that the Westerners are bitter largely because the US and British didn't think of the idea first.

The fact is that the Russians are not trying to rebuild the Nazi Party. Their new policy is a direct result of their disappointment with the Communist-controlled Socialist Unity Party, which, despite their full support, is making little or no headway. They have begun to see clearly that a real mass basis is not going to be won either by the Socialist Unity Party in the eastern zone, or by the Socialist People's Party, the newly rechristened Communist Party, in the western zones. And, as realists, they are taking a new tack.

The new party (which has no connection with a neo-Nazi party of the same name in Hesse in the US zone) is being launched with great care. The Russians remain in the background, going to unusual lengths to avoid frightening the average anti-Russian German. The party organ, though printed under Russian license, often criticizes Communist actions. Moreover, a policy statement expected in the near future will include points in direct contradiction to official Soviet policy, such as a declaration of support for ERP.

Many observers here believe that if the new party exploits the old Nazi anti-capitalist slogans and propagates the concept of a "natural" alliance of Russia and Germany, it may become a big factor in German politics within the next few months. Thus far there has been no hint that Field Marshal von Paulus and his Free German National Committee are involved, but the possibility of a close connection is obvious.

The US and British occupation authorities also are having difficulty with existing political parties in their zones. The various bizonal councils and governments created by Britain and the US at Frankfurt have remained shadow committees.

US and British officials are coming more and more to the opinion that a minimum of planned production and distribution must be retained in their zones despite demands from Washington, on the one hand, for complete decentralization; and, on the other hand, London's view that nationalization is the panacea.

One faction of the Christian Democrats supports a "mild planning program." Another, with powerful support from big business, plugs full-blown, nineteenth-century free enterprise. The Social Democrats are split, though not yet openly, on the same issue. The left wing believes planning and nationalization should be delayed until the free-market experiment fails, but as long as Dr. Kurt Schumacher retains control, there seems little chance of the Socialists as a whole changing their line.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

American Fiasco in China

MORE AND MORE it becomes certain that the Chinese fiasco will be the first to drive home to the American people the complete bankruptcy of our foreign policy.

Too many people know what is really going on in China. The corruption of the Kuomintang cannot be hidden. Stilwell, Evans Carlson and many people in the State Department knew the story. Stilwell and Carlson are dead but their words live after them, and the living who see the day-by-day profiteering of the black-market speculators and the shameful, illegal selling of American goods will not remain silent.

The rate of inflation of Chinese currency measures the rate of deflation of our Chinese foreign policy. When I was in China in 1944 it took $900 Chinese to buy one American dollar. Today it requires more than $2 million Chinese. Five billion dollars in American money and arms, poured into China since 1945, have not strengthened the Chinese dollar but have weakened it.

More strikingly than anywhere else in the world, China's experience demonstrates that those who invoke arms against the people are doomed. The Kuomintang goes to a village in the middle of the night and rounds up the male peasants. Those who have any money buy their freedom with $2 or $3 million Chinese. The others are marched off to the war. Naturally they hate war and will seize on any possible excuse to stop fighting for Chiang Kai-shek. Many of those who escape turn bandit.

Superficially, the Kuomintang has obtained some military successes by bombing small cities for several days with American-made planes followed up by bombardment with American-made artillery for several days. The conscript armies of Chiang are then able to march in without fear. They ask where the Communists are, and are told they left several weeks ago. The dead people lying in the streets are all civilians.

When the Kuomintang officers feel sentiment rising against them, they say, "The planes were American. The bombs were American. The artillery was from the US. So were the shells. Look at the guns and the bullets we hold in our hands. They are all American." Thus the Kuomintang turns hatred away from itself and toward the US. The great bulk of the Chinese people will hate the very words "American" and "US" for generations to come, unless we stop our present insane policy and come out on the side of the people and peace.

China has the same fear that we shall build up a militarized Japan that France has lest we build up a strong Germany to fight Russia. A part of the program to make Japan a bulwark against Russia is to reconstitute her industries as rapidly as possible, while China is left with an outmoded feudal system which can be operated successfully only by a parasitic upper class and a peasantry the bulk of which cannot read or write.

Educated Chinese, who know that Chiang's days are numbered, nevertheless fear that US foreign policy will finally result, after Chiang's fall, in America's controlling what might be called a "Co-Misery Sphere," consisting of Japan, the port cities of China, and Dutch Indonesia. They fear that in the final showdown it would be Japan that would dominate this area rather than the US. Others ask what difference it makes whether Chinese slavery is continued directly, through the US and Chiang, or indirectly, though Japan. The Chinese students who have been demonstrating against the American policy of rebuilding Japan have been told by the US Ambassador that they must stop or "prepare to take the consequences." The Mayor of Shanghai told the students, "America's policy toward Japan is concentrated on preventing the spread of communism. Your protest will not benefit China, but the Soviet Union."

Missionaries in China have a long and honorable record, but at the present time their status is being weighed in the balance. Some are said to serve as spies for the Kuomintang or for the American Embassy, and these are looked on with increasing suspicion. Those who are preaching fundamental Christian doctrine and trying to help the people improve their health, industry and agriculture, are made welcome. When Christians get into politics against the people they must always expect trouble, because they then cease to be Christians.

I asked a Chinese professor, who knows a great deal about Chinese agriculture both in the north and the south, how much the agricultural output could be increased within ten years if Chiang's regime were replaced by a people's government. He estimated that in the north the increase might be as much as 100 percent, and in the south 40 or 50 percent, using new varieties of crops, fertilizers, improved irrigation, etc.

We in the US could help enormously in this new program if we got on the side of the people, and were willing to help China build an industry which would match her agricultural potentialities. When the imagination of the people of the US is gripped by this possibility we shall have taken one of the decisive first steps toward world peace.

Henry A Wallace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OAK RIDGE WITCH HUNT

US scientists are subjected, in the name of security, to anxiety and distrust as they work on atomic research

by Richard B. Gehman

OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE

ONE THING is sure about the personnel investigations now going on at this atomic-energy project: the victims aren't the only ones unhappy about them.

The whole atmosphere of the project today is as bewildering and misty as the setting in Franz Kafka's *The Trial*, with one important difference. In the novel, Joseph K—— didn't know why he was accused or who was accusing him, but his inquisitors evidently did. At Oak Ridge even the interrogators apparently are ignorant of the investigation's actual sources and motivations; somebody higher up may know who is saying damaging things about the scientists, but in most cases the Security men here say that they don't. Their manner is both embarrassed and diffident as they confront the scientists with the charges, sent down from Washington; they hope they will be regarded simply as men with unpleasant jobs to do.

Most of the scientists seem to recognize this, and are willing to admit that the Security men, as well as the three-man board which conducts the hearings, are eminently patient and just. At the same time, the scientists are justifiably apprehensive, frightened and angry. In every case made public, the charges they have been asked to explain are so trivial that only the late Hangman Heydrich, or possibly J. Parnell Thomas, would give them a second's attention.

The Atomic Energy Commission is trying to learn more about the character, loyalty and associates of all people having access to restricted information and work areas, so that these people can do their jobs with the clean slate afforded by the all-important *Q* clearance. Research scientists are not the only ones who must be granted a *Q*; common laborers, engaged in construction work in certain areas, also must undergo investigation and possibly even hearings.

In all, about 12,000 people out of the present population of 36,000 will be affected. At this writing, only scientists—in one sense, the most important people on the area—have been called upon to show that the charges against them are false. To date, it is known that at least eight, all but one employed at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, a research branch of the project, have been given hearings. Of these, two were suspended from their jobs before their hearings—only temporarily, they hope. Denied access to the laboratories, they sit moodily at home, draw their pay, and wonder why anyone should label them unfit for work.

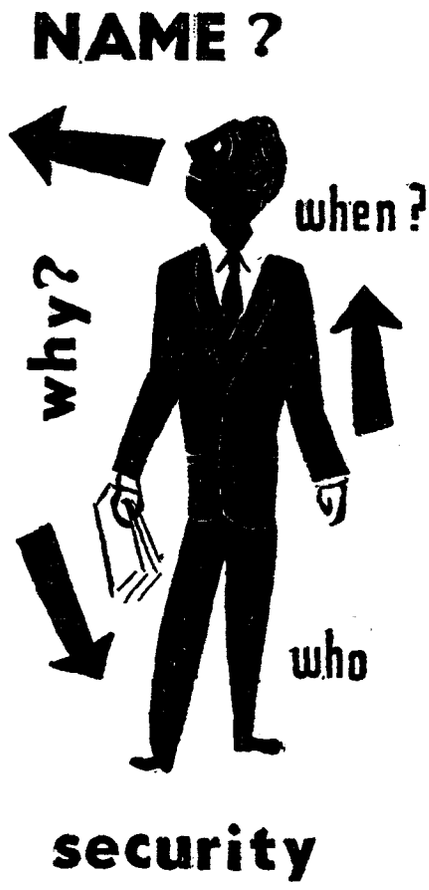
The investigations and suspensions are not of recent origin, as most people believe. Actually, they began last August, when George Kiernan (I shall use aliases throughout, to protect the men involved), a twenty-two-year-old junior chemist at the National Laboratory, was told that he had been suspended, pending an AEC decision about his "status." (He had been employed at Oak Ridge since July, 1946.)

No one, apparently, knew what the charges were. Kiernan was told only that he would continue to receive his pay for the time being, and was advised to write a letter to Washington testifying to his own character, loyalty and associations. This, it was said, might help him get a hearing.

Kiernan protested that he was not allowed to know what the charges were, and pointed out that his future might be damaged seriously. He was told to report to Washington.

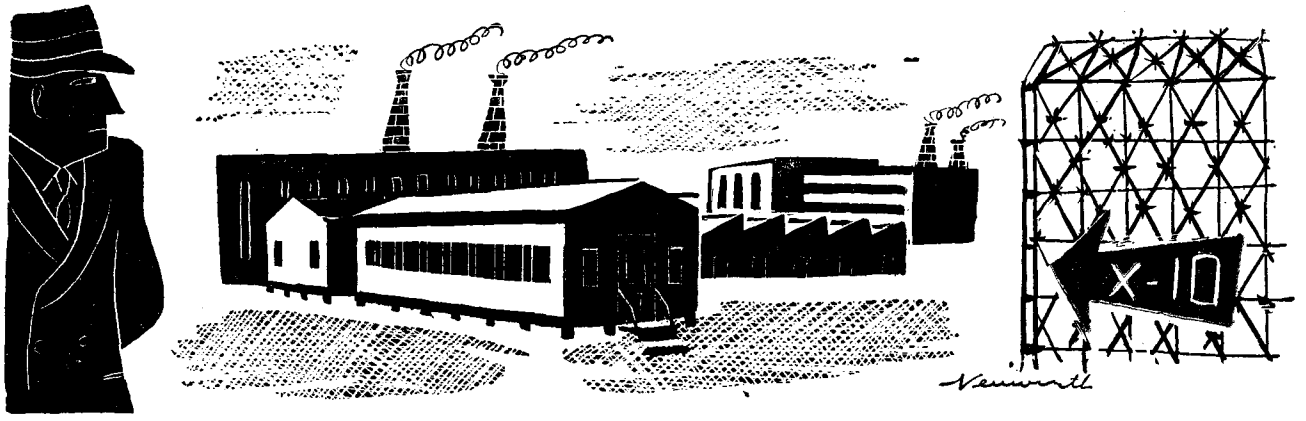
In his Washington interview, Kiernan was questioned by Fletcher C. Waller, head of AEC personnel; Admiral John E. Gingrich (head of AEC Security); and two other men whose names he cannot recall. He was asked about his past, friends, job, marriage, family life and other matters. He said Waller told him that they were merely attempting to predict his future actions, and that their decision might be based upon subtleties, or implications, rather than upon facts. At the close of the interview, Kiernan returned to Oak Ridge, still puzzled. Five weeks later, he was permitted to resume work. He was given no further information.

Concurrently, a man I'll call Herbert Frienburg was also suspended. He went through virtually the same procedure, and ultimately was allowed to return to the lab. He still had no



Richard B. Gehman was, during the war, editor of the Oak Ridge Journal, official weekly of the atomic-bomb project. In the last four years he has contributed articles and fiction to Collier's, the New Yorker and many other magazines.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



idea of the charges against him. Both Frienburg and Kiernan assumed that they had been cleared. Both were in for an unpleasant surprise.

Within the past few weeks, the AEC Security men have interrogated them again. Their procedure now is somewhat different: either the FBI or some other investigating agency furnishes the AEC with a report on certain individuals and the AEC then gives the individuals a letter containing the "charges," and asks if they wish to testify before a three-man board. This board consists of an AEC man, a scientist from the defendant's own laboratory, and an independent outsider, usually a lawyer from nearby Knoxville, presumably with no personal interest in the matter. Thus far, it is known that eight men have been granted hearings (the figure may be higher; neither Security nor the scientists will say, exactly). Of these eight, two have been suspended—and are still suspended. Kiernan and Frienburg are among those who have had hearings under the current procedure, and at last they have learned some of the charges against them. Here they are, in part:

KIERNAN. "While at —— University, you were in close association with ——, who is reported to have been a member of the Tom Paine Chapter, American Youth for Democracy. The AYD is reported to have been a subversive organization by the Attorney General. It is reported that you have indicated your approval of some of the principles of the Communist Party, that you are well informed on the writings of Lenin and Marx, and that you regard their philosophy as being sound."

FRIENBURG. "A close relative of yours is reported to have been a member of the book-shop association of ——, Inc. This association is reliably reported to be Communist-dominated and infiltrated. The officers of this association are reliably reported to be Communist Party members. Information available indicates that the same relative may also have been a member of the —— Democratic Club and the Russian War Relief. These organizations are reliably reported, etc."

Kiernan and Frienburg are not suspended this time, but two other scientists have been. One, a mathematician whom I will call Carleton, could scarcely believe that the charges in his letter were not made in jest. Neither could anyone else. Here are two of them:

CARLETON. "A former landlord of yours has reported that in 1943, after you moved from the premises in which you had been residing, certain magazines and pamphlets *which may have been left on the premises by you may have included* a copy of the magazine *New Masses*. A neighbor has stated that she believes your mother-in-law is a Communist." (Italics mine—R. B. G.)

Upon receiving this letter, Carleton got busy. He took advantage of the time afforded by his suspension and went to Chicago to do a little FBI work of his own. Ultimately, he heard of a woman who had told a member of the family that she thought they were Communists or communistic. Her reasons were that she knew that one of Carleton's relatives by marriage often entertained Negroes and Japanese (!), and because Carleton's relatives were always being investigated by the FBI (because of Carleton's work for the AEC).

Neither Carleton nor the other scientist who was suspended at the same time have yet been reinstated; to date, they have been away from their jobs for ten weeks. Both have been told, however, that as a result of their hearings by the board here, John C. Franklin, director of the Oak Ridge Directed Operations; AEC, has forwarded a favorable report to Washington.

According to Bernard W. Menke, director of the Security Division here, these two suspensions were directly recommended by the Washington headquarters of the AEC.

The procedure, Menke told me, now works something like this: facts about individuals are sent down from Washington, and the local men aid in deciding if an individual should be given a hearing before receiving his *Q*. At this hearing, the individual may offer evidence and testimony, written or verbal, may call witnesses, and may retain counsel at his own expense. Every effort is made to keep the hearings as informal and friendly as possible; the individual is told of all charges against him, and only the names of the individuals making them are withheld.

If the three-man board here should report an unfavorable reaction, the interviewee then would be given an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opportunity to have his evidence reviewed by the AEC loyalty board in Washington, and possibly even by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The AEC board, with former Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts as chairman, includes, among others, former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew; Karl T. Compton, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and H. T. Prentis Jr., former president of the NAM.

The Atomic Energy Act requires that all personnel working in restricted areas be reinvestigated, Menke explained to me, adding: "We don't particularly like this job, but it's got to be done. We must carry out the mandate of the law in as careful a manner as possible, and also recognize and safeguard the rights of the individuals involved. We will not release the names of the men who receive hearings, nor will we furnish transcripts of the hearings themselves."

Menke went on to explain that the men who are being investigated are not actually charged with any overt act.

"If we had any direct evidence of disloyalty, we would go direct to the US Attorney with an indictment. What we want to know about an individual is what his work has been in the past, how he stood in his community, his personal habits, and so on. It's a question of the significance of those facts."

Pointing out that most liberals are omnivorous readers, consuming everything from Hearst, through Luce, to the *Daily Worker,* I asked Menke why the AEC should demand an explanation of a man's loyalty simply because someone reported that he may have been a *New Masses* reader.

"We're not interested in his reading," he replied. "We're interested in *how* he reads it . . . and how much he believes of what he reads. Likewise, a man's membership in an organization that may be Communist-dominated is *almost never* a determining factor . . . we want to know the man's motives for joining." (Again, the italics are mine.)

One might suppose that Security would know if there are now any Communists on the area. When asked this question, Menke smiled somewhat sheepishly and said, "I can't answer that." I then asked what would happen if a Communist came to the attention of his division. "That," he said, "would depend on the nature of the job in which he is employed." He indicated that several people who have applied for jobs here since last July have been rejected, but did not state directly that it was because they were party members or disloyal.

"We're trying to do the best we can," Menke said. "I guess, though, you can't go through with this thing without hurting some innocent people."

Here, Menke has put his finger on precisely what has infuriated the scientists—and possibly frightened some of them away. Since the AEC took over the project from the Army, Security restrictions have been even tighter than they were during the war. All over the area, one sees such signs as this one, in the central recreation hall: THE PARAMOUNT OBJECTIVE IS TO ASSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE AND SECURITY.

Since the first of the year, from 20 to 30 percent of the research scientists at the National Laboratory (actually, the smallest operation on the area, but from the standpoint of fundamental research, the most important) have left to take jobs elsewhere. It cannot be said that the Security restrictions, and the investigations last fall of Kiernan and Frienburg, directly influenced this exodus; but it can be said, and the scientists say it loudly, that they were among the determining factors.

All the men who have been called up have been trusted employees of about two years' service on the project —in most cases, even longer periods (Carleton, for example, was one of the first men sent to Oak Ridge from the University of Chicago, about five years ago). All scientists thus far have managed to make out good cases for their loyalty. Only one of them, Kiernan, has ever belonged to an organization which might, in the opinion of the most rabid reactionary, be termed "radical." That organization is the Young Democrats.

One of the most important questions raised by the inquiry, and one that no man can or will answer, is this: Who is responsible for these investigations and hearings?

The investigations and hearings may represent just one more straw in the broom of reaction which has been sweeping the country since the death of Roosevelt. There is this much about the whole matter: our atomic-energy project cannot continue without the engineers and scientists. Many of them already have gone. It is alarming to suppose that the whole future may be seriously altered as a result of AEC Security tactics.

There is an ironic postscript to all this. In the Pine Valley Grocery, at the corner of New York and Utah Avenues in Oak Ridge, a man named James Rudolph Huling (and this is not an alias) is working behind the meat counter. Huling has lived in the area for about three years; he comes from Knoxville, and he is a deacon in the Baptist Church. He is also the Exalted Cyclops of Lodge No. 307, Ku Klux Klan. Moreover, he is a Kleagle, or organizer, with a territory stretching from Johnson City, Tennessee, all the way to Chattanooga. On at least two occasions he has been seen passing out a pamphlet to his customers, a pamphlet called "Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan."

Before becoming a butcher, he worked as a guard for three or four months in the highly restricted area which is now the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. He speaks freely and proudly of his activities in the Klan, and boasts that there are many other members on the area, although he won't tell how many. He claims that he has never been investigated by the Security Department here.

After I talked with Huling, I asked a Security man if he knew of the Kleagle's existence and activities.

"Yes," he said. "We know he is here."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEWEY'S BRISK YOUNG MEN MOVE IN

by Helen Fuller

THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION has come to the Republican Party. The new aristocracy of get-things-done is preparing to do for American politics what it has done for American industry. Lusty young elephants tread paths hitherto reserved for only the most venerable pachyderms. "Unity" and "teamwork" are the new cardinal virtues. The campaign that will make "Depend on Dewey" as acceptable as "E Pluribus Unum" has been blueprinted down to the very last detail.

Thomas E. Dewey won the nomination of his party through the superlative efforts of himself and his personal organization of brisk young men. If elected, Dewey and his associates will bring to the White House and the Republican Party the group method of operation that has made them what they are today. Clearly, that method is intelligent and purposeful. As yet, however, it is not at all clear that its purposes will coincide with the true needs of the American people in the next four years.

In Republican terms, Philadelphia was a victory for the more internationally minded "progressive" elements of the party over the ultra-conservative nationalist wing. But the losers are still very much in the party. And the convention itself was a convincing object lesson in the difficulties that face anyone who would make a modern political vehicle of the lumbering hulk that is the GOP today.

A full week before the convention was due to begin, representatives of all the candidates were already in Philadelphia and open for business. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (Mass.) and his Platform Committee got an early start on the impossible task of constructing a platform suitable for *any* Republican who might be selected to head the ticket. The internationalists outnumbered the isolationists on Lodge's committee, but the special interests which had their way with the Republican Congress last session also left an indelible impression on the 1948 party platform.

In the Platform Committee, as in the 80th Congress, the battle was between the moderate Republican liberals of the Senate, like Lodge, and the die-hard reactionaries who lead the GOP in the House.

The progressive members influenced the first version of the platform —so strongly that the conservatives "leaked" the draft version to the press in order to alert the pressure groups to the dangers in store unless they got to work. They got to work. The changes in the final planks on inflation, taxes, public power, housing, education and tidelands oil which the full committee presented to the convention show with what effect.

DRAWINGS BY ARTHUR GETZ

The conservatives in the committee, under outside prodding, refused to approve of even a "continuing study of more efficient rationing methods, in case . . . " A phrase in the original tax plank stating that further tax reduction would be aimed at relieving "persons of limited income" was deleted. And the perennial reactionary device to escape federal inheritance taxes by restoring them to state jurisdiction was inserted. The real-estate interests succeeded in killing a housing plank which followed the principle of federal aid to public or private building in Senator Taft's housing bill. The federal-aid-to-education provision in the original draft of the platform was dropped in favor of a simple statement that the GOP favors "the promotion of education" for all.

The oil interests were sufficiently emboldened by the reactionaries' inroads to demand a special plank to return control of the oil-rich tidewater lands to the states.

The references to public power the liberals had included were thrown out entirely at first, but when a Utah delegate warned how this would be received in the West, the committee reluctantly agreed to a compromise statement supporting power development along with navigation and flood control. Only on the question of Pal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estine did liberals win. The Zionists in the party were able to bring enough pressure on the committee to get a plank specifying full support for the United Nations partition plan.

Point after point in the platform finally approved by the convention as a whole seems more than usually meaningless when compared with the GOP's legislative history on the subject. The Republicans declared solemnly in their platform for an agricultural program which includes "soil conservation" and "the encouragement of family-size farms." The farm bill passed in the closing hours of the 80th Congress made no provision for soil conservation at all. Republican members at every opportunity voted against increasing funds for soil conservation or for extending rural electrification, or farm credit, or firm price support on farm products. The platform contains equally solemn avowals of support for the FEPC, as in previous years, and protests against the poll tax and segregation in the armed forces, without apology for the Republican Congress' failure in the last session to enact a single piece of legislation embodying these views.

From the first day of the convention, the talk in the corridors and on the street was all Dewey's way. The other candidates also told the press at their twice-daily news conferences that they were certain of victory, but, Dewey and Herb Brownell made it sound more convincing. It was obvious to the more experienced observers from the start that Senator Vandenberg was out of the running. The conditions he had set up around his candidacy were impossible ones.

In almost any convention, and especially in this one, where the smell of victory was so strongly in the air, practical-minded delegates were extremely reluctant to throw their all behind a man who might turn out not to be a candidate at all. There was no chance of Vandenberg's winning without fighting, and he was determined not to fight. The sincerely concerned group of journalists who were most active in promoting the Vandenberg candidacy prior to the convention were deeply disturbed when they realized what Vandenberg's indecision had done to the cause of internationalism.

Arthur Summerfield, the Michigan National Committeeman who was nominally in charge of the Vandenberg cause at Philadelphia, proved himself a most unprofessional professional politician. Monday afternoon Henry Luce's favored press was tipped off that the stampede to Vandenberg was to begin at the convention session that night. On the stroke of nine, the great man himself would suddenly materialize on the platform and the house would go wild. They had been working feverishly to line up the demonstration. After such a showing of popular support, the draft-Vandenberg movement would be on its way.

At nine sharp, Vandenberg walked onto the platform. The flashbulbs flashed. The Michigan delegates forced their way onto the stage to shake their man by the hand. There were a few short bursts of applause from scattered delegations. And that was all. The Vandenberg boom was over.

From then on the question was: Could the other candidates get together on one man to beat Dewey? Alf Landon, who never has liked Dewey, lent his remaining prestige and sweet disposition to the organization of an anti-Dewey coalition. John D. M. Hamilton, the Pew henchman who has been thirsting for the limelight ever since he left the Republican national chairmanship, turned over his Spruce Street house as a meeting place for the plotters. Stassen and Taft desperately agreed to discuss merger. Michigan's Governor Kim Sigler sat in for the Vandenberg forces. Pennsylvania's Governor James Duff represented the 29 Pennsylvania delegates who didn't want Dewey either.

Selflessness came so unnaturally to each that he could not agree on someone else as the man who should be President. They tried all day Wednesday and most of Wednesday night, before balloting began on Thursday morning. And they half-heartedly tried again during the two-and-one-half-hour recess between the second and third roll calls on Thursday evening. But the basis for agreement wasn't there, and most of the principals had known it from the start.

While their opponents fought the inevitable, Dewey and his associates tried to make the inevitable a little more certain. They made list after list of vote prospects. Their foot soldiers pounded the hotel corridors of the city all day and all night rounding up the particular delegates that headquarters wanted to see at the moment, and taking them in to confer. Dewey and Brownell personally put on the pressure when the prospects got there. Their total of sure votes on the first ballot mounted.

When Colonel Bertie McCormick upset the anti-Dewey coalition's applecart by prematurely endorsing a Taft-Stassen combination, Dewey headquarters decided it was time to start taking some tricks. Senator Edward Martin, who had privately been for Dewey for months past, was persuaded to make his position known. The fight between Martin and Governor Duff inside the Pennsylvania delegation had reached the stage where Martin was sure of winning on a showdown. So he agreed to make his move for Dewey two whole days before the balloting,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"By every test, there is one man who towers above all others." – *Senator Edward Martin*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when it would do the New York Governor the maximum good with the delegates.

One more such major stroke and they were in, the Dewey forces concluded then. Ambitious Charlie Halleck of Indiana, House Majority Leader, was picked for the next target. They didn't exactly promise him the vice-presidency if he delivered all of Indiana's votes to Dewey on the first ballot. But that is what Halleck thought Brownell was saying. When the word got around that Indiana had shifted, the stage was finally set to Dewey's taste. The balloting could begin.

There were no surprises on the first ballot for the insiders. Nor on the second. The anti-Dewey coalition leaders had agreed to stand firm through the second round, and they did. Senator Raymond E. Baldwin (Conn.) took this pledge so seriously that he prevented Connecticut's switching its vote just before Joe Martin announced the totals for that ballot.

With 515 votes of the 548 needed for nomination already in the bag, the Deweyites felt so confident that they put up no fight against a recess move which could conceivably help the opposition. They even figured an angle on that. Dewey's loyal, coherent Senator Irving M. Ives (N. Y.) improved the rest period by arranging to meet with a few of his Senate cronies who were in key spots in the rival camps. Ives preached a little sermon on the blessings of unity to Senators Baldwin, William F. Knowland and Edward J. Thye. When the convention reassembled, Senator John W. Bricker made his way to the rostrum and announced Senator Taft's decision to withdraw and ask the unanimous election of Governor Dewey. Warren, Stassen and the others followed. Visibly, the party lines began to reform, convention dividing lines to fade away. The next administration was in all their minds.

Governor Dewey's acceptance speech was the pearl in the diadem of superb planning he had displayed throughout the convention performance. Both content and delivery rated the praise the address was generally accorded. New Dealers in the press corps reluctantly conceded that in its statesmanlike tone it approached the utterances of Wilson and FDR.

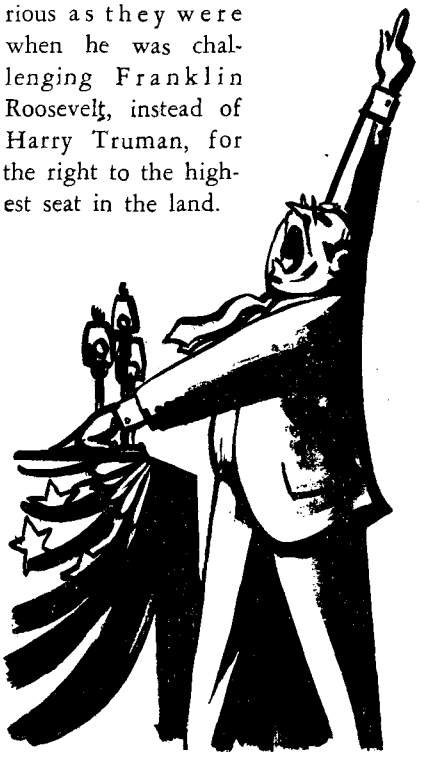
The delegates were apathetic after their first greeting of their man. But the speech was aimed over their heads, directly at the men who had opposed him and who must support him if he is to have the personal success as party leader he so immeasurably desires. "Unity," "peace," "ideals," "liberty and human dignity," were invoked in far better style than is usual in political tradition.

Candidate Dewey got off to a running start. He did not inspire the Republican convention, but he conquered it. He may not thrill the American electorate, but he finally expects to capture its vote. The machine that has brought him so far is in the smoothest running condition ever; his team mates are at the top of their training and experience. Everything is ready for the triumphal entry into Washington. If America does not know the names of the many men who help make the public personality that is Thomas Dewey, they soon will.

If the Dewey train moves into Washington on schedule, Elliott V. Bell, Charles D. Breitel, John E. Burton, Paul E. Lockwood and James C. Hagerty will be as widely known as the Harry Hopkinses, Tommy Corcorans and Henry Morgenthaus of another day. Bell, Dewey's State Superintendent of Banks, is talked of for Secretary of the Treasury. Breitel, present counsel to the Governor, would probably turn up as the Sam Rosenman of a Dewey administration. Burton could easily move from the post of Budget Director for New York State to the federal equivalent. Lockwood and Hagerty would undoubtedly move into the right and left bowers of Dewey's White House staff.

In obtaining Governor Earl Warren as his running mate, Dewey has perfected his organizational set-up. It is generally agreed that Warren is by far the strongest No. 2 man the GOP could have nominated for the vice-presidency. Warren did not want the job. He had refused the same offer from the same man in 1944. He likes California and being Governor and his $25,000 salary—$5,000 more than the Vice President gets even after last year's raise in pay went through. He is not taking the job now out of the goodness of his heart. Dewey shrewdly called a meeting of almost every top Republican in Philadelphia immediately after his own nomination to discuss the question of a running mate. Here was a quick chance to show that he meant what he was saying about "teamwork." The party chiefs spent most of the night trying to agree on a man. Dewey may have guided their thinking more subtly than they knew, for the group decision was Dewey's own preference—Warren. The most influential Californians available were called in to put the heat on Warren to accept.

Even those who liked Dewey least in 1944 had a passively good word to say for his performance at the 1948 convention. Obviously, the little Governor has matured. Some of the brashness is gone. But doubts about his ability to make a President for all the people are just as serious as they were when he was challenging Franklin Roosevelt, instead of Harry Truman, for the right to the highest seat in the land.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The color of Thomas E. Dewey's money is the same. His nomination is something of a defeat for the House of Morgan, which did not support him in 1944 and preferred Stassen or Vandenberg this time. The Rockefeller interests, which long have backed Dewey, at last have a winner. Winthrop Aldrich, of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, sat in a specially built loge seat on the speakers' platform at Philadelphia. Harold Talbott, Chrysler executive, sat in on all the main strategy meetings during the convention to protect the investors' rights in Dewey. Even an untrained spectator could guess at the tremendous outpouring of cash that must have been required to keep the Dewey machine running so smoothly.

In Dewey and Warren, and the skilled organization that will run their campaign, the Republican Party has what appears to be a sure winner in November. For the time being, the party is Tom Dewey's to do with much as he will. If elected, Congress will undoubtedly give him plenty of trouble in the long run, but he is due for at least a brief honeymoon period there, too. President Dewey and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles would have a powerful ally in Senate Foreign Relations chief Vandenberg, but if Dewey were elected by a sweeping majority, the reactionary congressional bloc doubtless would be increased at the same time. The battle of internationalists versus isolationists in the Republican Party is far from being won by the simple nomination of an "internationalist" of Dewey's variety. The Martin-Halleck-Taber gang are not ready to capitulate to any "managerial revolution" in their time. Dewey's real test will be in selling them, as well as the Tafts, Stassens and Vandenbergs, on "unity" and "teamwork" as the new way of Republican life.

The Democrats' one chance would seem to be in giving Harry Truman the gate and nominating a man who could reconstruct the old Roosevelt coalition, in the name of liberalism, one more time.

THE DELEGATE IS SEATED

Charles Hawkins, small-town banker, rides Dewey's bandwagon through smoke, heat and oratory at Philadelphia

by Norman Grieser

ON THE THIRD NIGHT of the 1948 convention, Charles Hawkins stood beside his chair in the New York State delegation for seven minutes as the delegates paraded for the man whose name had just been placed in nomination, Thomas E. Dewey. A couple of minutes later, as the brassy thunder of the Dewey cheers bounced from the ceiling, Hawkins climbed on top of his chair. After another five minutes, he picked up a Dewey sign and joined the parade.

Not that Hawkins is a lukewarm Dewey man. Back in the private office he occupies as president of the First National Bank of Spring Valley, New York, there is a photograph of Dewey inscribed "To Charles W. Hawkins, with warm personal regards."

Restraining Hawkins was his highly developed sense of what is, and what is not, practical. He was duly impressed the day he visited Governor Dewey in Albany and found that the state chief executive's office wasn't much larger than his own. "Says that's all he needs," Hawkins confides admiringly.

The instinct for seeking what works, without waste, he expresses in national convention politics. "Parading doesn't change any votes," Hawkins observes. "Besides, it's hot as Hell."

Once he had lined up with the other parading delegates, Hawkins slowly circled the convention floor twice. Each time he looked up as he passed under Section S, where Mrs. Hawkins sat in the balcony.

The demonstration for Taft impressed Hawkins as a well-managed affair. The smoky-room deal which had given the Ohio Senator's forces complete control of the convention-hall organ resulted in booming crescendos. Fat George Bender's clanging schoolbell, carefully held close to the microphones, was intended to be a coast-to-coast clarion call to liberty proclaimed throughout the land by Taft's salvation army.

The Stassen shenanigans were too much for Hawkins. As a businessman, he is naturally a booster, but he draws the line at shoving tactics. Lines of youngsters bearing Stassen posters on poles appeared in the spectators' galleries, swinging along with hopeful, drilled-in dreams of Wendell Willkie and 1940. Following the "Man the oars, Ride the crest, Harold Stassen, He's the best" line of reasoning, a mahogany dinghy precariously captained by a shapely blonde in white slacks nudged its way into the sea of Stassen delegates.

"That's enough," one of the Stassen

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAWINGS BY LEO HERSHFIELD

managers waved at his cohorts, and for Hawkins it was plenty. Since it was one-thirty in the morning, Hawkins removed himself and his wife from the between-the-halves festivities and went to bed.

"To the noble strains of the national anthem, Republicans of the nation today opened a history-making convention," solemnly intoned the page-one story of the Chicago *Tribune*. For the edification of delegates, copies of the World's Greatest Newspaper were flown to Philadelphia in a move undoubtedly involving the most flagrant waste of gasoline since the invention of the airplane engine.

June 21, 1948, was the first day Hawkins had ever spent at a Republican national convention. The day before, he and his wife had shaken hands wth Bernard Shoemaker, who lives next door, and motored from Spring Valley to Philadelphia. "Bring home the bacon, Charlie," his neighbor waved. "Do with Dewey," Hawkins promised with uplifted finger.

Spring Valley, New York, could be Anytown, Eastern USA. State Highway 94 serves as Main Street. Near the center of town, at the corner of Lawrence and Main, stands a white bank building with bronze doors. One of the guidebooks to Spring Valley describes it as "still the finest structure" in town. But to Hawkins, the bank is crowded and much too small.

For Hawkins, sitting among the 1,094 Republican delegates, wearing a neat gray suit and a modest blue-and-white Dewey button, the Philadelphia convention was the end-product of a complex of psychological, social and political forces that had helped to shape his life and thoughts. His roots in active Republican politics are only five or six years old, but Hawkins is no unruly Willkie Republican. Dewey is not only his candidate, Dewey is his man. Even though he thinks of himself and the Dewey group as "internationalist," it is a mild kind of "One Worldism" that has managed to inch up the first stone steps of the Statehouse in Albany.

Convention speakers who sounded as if they were going to lick the stuffings out of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1948 got no applause from Hawkins. Rather, he rose to his feet when Herbert Hoover told the delegates, "If you produce nothing but improvised platitudes, you will give no hope."

As a free-enterpriser, Hawkins is a little suspicious of government and downright sore about deadheads who manage to wangle their way into public office. Such feelings have involved him in the political fight of his life; for he is trying to oust a Republican jobholder whom he considers "no good" from an office the man has held for fifteen years in Rockland County. Hawkins would rather be late with private enterprise than early with governmental action. However, in the event of another depression he would advise a Republican administration to go in for public works. "No WPA and leaning on shovels, mind you, but constructive projects like schools and highways." At the time, the car was bumping along over the chuckholes which remain in the New York highway system despite the $700 million surplus in the state treasury.

Hawkins lives in a comfortable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

home on the middle-class outskirts of a town of about 4,000 people. He drives a 1948 Oldsmobile which he was able to buy at list price because he had a friend able to slip him one. At fifty he likes to fish; he looks at books, reads magazines, but prefers face-to-face dealings with people.

Friends persuaded him to enter politics. After a couple of years as county committeeman, he was elected county chairman, a post he has held since 1945. He has rung doorbells and made telephone calls to newcomers to his community, and to the voters at election time. Every year there is the job of fund raising to keep the party machinery operating.

Political affairs, he believes, should be honest, conducted in the open, and free from hypocrisy. The dingy room, with the dusty folding chairs and the soiled brown sofa, of the Nanuet Republican Club contrasts with the neatness of his office and home. It is easy to see why the Rockland County Republican Executive Committee, under Hawkins, now holds its monthly meetings over dinner and coffee in a roadhouse restaurant just outside Spring Valley. The political process which sent Hawkins as a delegate to the convention began with a 500-name petition to put his name on the primary ballot. He was elected easily.

In Philadelphia, his delegate's credentials were waiting for him at New York headquarters. His hotel room was cluttered with mimeographed "Dear Delegate" letters which he promptly filed in the wastebasket. It was three days before the delegation met Governor Dewey, and then the Governor was an hour late in keeping the appointment. Hawkins' mind was made up, and though he wore a Dewey button and sometimes tried to sway delegates from other states, he had a sneaking hunch that such activities didn't accomplish much.

He found the atmosphere of the convention much like that of a school bazaar, a Shrine circus, an exhibition of local industry, or a family reunion under the trees. He didn't go along with the more garish aspects.

He was amused by a warning in the local newspaper from the Chief of Police "not to display money unnecessarily in public." He grinned at the pretty girls, dressed as angels, who passed out cards inviting the public to enter the gates of "Hamburger Heaven," conveniently located just around the corner.

He found that buses were crowded, taxis hard to find, hotel telephone numbers continually "busy," and hotel elevator travel almost impossible.

He had Pepsi-Cola with Dewey, cheese on Stassen, and since he gave liquor up in 1941, he turned down the free drinks at the bar operated by the bone-dry state of Kansas.

He played hookey from a session or two in order to take in the local sights—the Art Museum, Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell. He approved of the ice cream in Philadelphia (a state law regulates the cream content, Hawkins said). And he became sad whenever he passed a closed bank, looking forlornly empty with a "Lease" sign in the window. He doesn't approve of banks which put neon signs above their doors—thinks it looks cheap—and Harold Stassen never made Hawkins a convert by erecting a blue neon sign over his convention headquarters.

Hawkins knows from whence he came and where he is going. It is a standing joke between him and his wife that he has no sense of direction, but he is sure that the country is moving Republicanward, and that the Republican nominee will probably win in the fall elections.

Others around Philadelphia did not share Charles Hawkins' sense of sureness. There was the correspondent, just arrived from Palestine, who went around with a glazed look wondering how the spirit of two lands only a day and a half apart by air could be so different. There were those who listened to the words of Hoover: "The only obstacle to the annihilation of freedom has been the United States of America." They remembered what he had been saying back in 1940 and '41 and wondered what the people of London, who had known Dunkirk and the Blitz, were thinking.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

HIGH THOUGHTS BEFORE CHAOS

by James R. Newman

IN THE PREFACE to this volume of lectures (*The Works of the Mind*, edited by R. B. Heywood; Chicago, $4), John V. Nef, economic historian at the University of Chicago, explains that their purpose is to help to an understanding of what is embodied "in art, in thought, in scholarship, and in creative administration." A tall order, it must be admitted, even for the Chicago group, but Professor Nef argues the need with force and with unquestioned sincerity.

His plea for a reaffirmation of faith in the works of the mind, especially in their healing and building power, is more compelling than the now familiar and somewhat wearisome advocacy of a humanistic revival. It is something more than a cry for the reinstatement in our educational programs of the careful study of the Great Books. He mentions, but fortunately goes beyond, the melancholy charge that mass education has had a Greshamlike effect on quality education. (In a recent variant of this lament, C. E. M. Joad commiserated with a group of British veterans studying at Oxford on their inability to distinguish, as could the Oxonians of *his* day, among the various vintages of wine: a stark consequence of assembly-line education.)

Nef's more urgent point is that the great works of mind, old and new, no longer inspire in men the faith, forbearance and courage necessary to resist the steady drift to despair and to face up to the hard, grown-up problems of living together in peace. Everywhere men worship false idols, are the victims of deception and captives of sham. Everywhere insecurity drives men to redouble their zeal as they forget their aims. Enlightened opinion is now as rare among statesmen and other leaders as it has ever been among the people at large. In this condition, society, as we know it, must inevitably perish. The last, best stand against the retreat from reason, a retreat exemplified in the deterioration of educational standards, must be made in the universities. This, says Nef, is their "supreme opportunity"—though most of them will muff it—to become, as a Canadian scholar, Harold Innis, has recently put it, "islands of civilization in a rising sea of barbarism." The lectures in this volume were arranged by a university that is aware of its challenging responsibilities and means to make the most of them.

H. G. Wells once wrote that "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." Though I agree with this judgment, I am not wholly convinced by the arguments of Professor Nef. Do the higher works of the mind offer salvation even for the liberal and informed few who sense the approaching catastrophe while feeling powerless to avert it? Perhaps it is never too late, but at the moment it certainly seems too late to look to the beneficent but slow-working processes of education as effective means of offsetting the mounting world psychosis produced by anxiety, fear and hate.

Yet even if Nef's points are accepted in full, there is little to corroborate their validity in the book I am reviewing. A number of artists, scholars and administrators were here convoked in what might be termed emergency council. They were to share with their audience their experience in creative intellectual work. Each was to give an outline of the distinctive features of his kind of activity, to exhibit its excellence, its value and meaning for society, its problems of development and growth. Unfortunately the lectures of these preëminent men, with a few notable exceptions, are rambling, inconsequential, without definition or clear direction. They fail, it seems to me, to establish a central theme or to make a unified whole. For the most part they offer neither comfort, guidance nor inspiration. In mitigation, I will grant that few of the lectures are wholly devoid of interest and that several contain both perceptive and original ideas.

The first and last essay, each by a philosopher, Yves R. Simon and Mortimer Adler, need not detain us. They contain little that is new or helpful. Adler's words as usual permit of an untroubled passage through the mind: like fine summer clouds they neither obscure the light nor leave traces. This essay, at any rate, must have afforded him a welcome change from the labors of cataloguing the Great Ideas.

The next section, "Work and the Arts," is, I am sorry to say, only a collection of oddments, autobiographical fragments (mostly sentimental) and spacious banalities. It perhaps proves, what I have long suspected, that the artist should stick to his art. (I have heard a story about Picasso and Gertrude Stein on the occasion when he suddenly announced—on the strength of Miss Stein's assurances that he was a *universal* genius—that from then on he intended to write instead of paint. Miss Stein, so the anecdote goes, on hearing the news from a friend, rushed out to find Picasso and encountering him in the street, laid hands on him and started to shake him vigorously while shouting, "*You* paint, *I* write, *you* paint, *I* write, *you* paint, *I* write." Very Steinish, but not without point.)

The lecture on painting is by Marc Chagall. It explains, after a fashion, what brought him to Paris ("I felt that plastic refinement of the highest order existed in France") and what led him to his own way of painting. He describes well enough (considering that no less than four scholars translated, "arranged" and "checked" his lecture)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the emotions that surged through him on seeing first the landscapes, the figures of Cezanne, Manet, Monet, Seurat, Renoir, Van Gogh, the still-lifes of Chardin, the "brilliant examples of formal art" by Delacroix and Ingrès, the works of Picasso.

Despite Chagall's evident mastery of the subject and patent sincerity, he manages to convey only a sort of lyrical and enthusiastic confusion. "What I call 'abstract'," says M. Chagall, "is something that rises spontaneously from a gamut of psychic and plastic contrasts. . . . In the case of the headless woman with the milk pails in one of my pictures . . . it occurred to me to separate her head from her body because I found that I needed an empty space in that particular place. In my painting, 'I and the Village,' I painted a small cow and a milkmaid in the head of a large cow because I needed that kind of shape in that place for my composition." I myself have admired the misplaced small cow, but I am disturbed to learn the explanation is so simple.

Alfeo Faggi, the sculptor known for his group, the "Stations of the Cross," continues the task of clarification. Ten pages, of which four are devoted to "Epigrams" ("You cannot conquer beauty with regulation"; "Art favors only purity. . . . Even a small compromise will stain forever the work of art"; "Be true to the medium to which your sensitivity responds most intensely"), carry us through the sculptor's life, method and philosophy. They tell me nothing except what I already knew, *i.e.*, that Faggi has a great gift for expression in stone. "I mention creative expression very often . . . but honestly I do not know myself how to define it correctly. I call it the 'secret chemistry'." That is all very well for him, but what about us?

Frank Lloyd Wright, in a fresh, colloquial style, says much that is inconsequential, relieved by one or two felicitous insights ("Architecture, if it is organic architecture, is the very life you live made in the terms upon which you must live it"). Here a very great architect might have said much to deepen our comprehension of his art, yet after a promising start he soon subsides to dreary conformity, discoursing at length on the symbiotic relation between beauty and truth. What a pity. Arnold Schönberg closes the esthetic section with a number of specimen pages of his scores and the dictum that good music is made of the harmonious coöperation of "heart and brain." This I had assumed to be a biological fact and I did not find my understanding of the nature of music appreciably enlarged by rephrasing the formula in terms of "cerebral counterpoint" and "spontaneous melody." "The heart," says Schönberg, quoting from Balzac, "must be within the domain of the head." This is no help either.

Heinrich Bruening, Senator Fulbright of Oklahoma and Robert M. Hutchins contribute to the "Work and Action" section. The former German chancellor, now a Harvard professor (which in New England might be regarded as a promotion), describes the vicissitudes of statesmanship, based on his own political experiences. Professor Brüning introduces a good bit of special pleading on behalf of Germany; he has scant sympathy, on the other hand, for what he terms "emotional humanitarianism," which, if I understand him, means a maudlin concern over bodily needs as distinguished from the prevalent concern over "the dignity of the individual."

Brüning's apology for statesmen and their difficulties is matched by Senator Fulbright's lecture in defense of the much misunderstood and abused legislator. Our congressmen are described as the shield of our liberties against the "voracious instinct for power of the executive bureaucracy." It is legitimate to doubt that this is a burning issue in our political set-up. Who is to protect us against voracious legislators?

For sheer verve and readability Dr. Hutchins' lecture is the best: witty, amusing, candid and perceptive. The university administrator's life is not a happy one. The best he can hope for are critical admirers, and even they are likely sooner or later to do him in. He has cynical but sound advice to offer on the importance (while administering) of doing nothing, advice which the present man in the White House learned only by half—the wrong half.

I have yet to see a more sensible and unpretentious statement on the purposes of a university than that given by Hutchins. He is one educational leader who does not regard the institution primarily as a group of buildings conveniently located with respect to the football stadium:

> Almost every American university is managed in terms of the social pressures prevailing at a given time. . . . Since the American university has been unable to formulate any idea of its function, its function is to do what any powerful group wants it to undertake. It has no standard by which to judge these requests, because it has no conception of the end. The modern university and the modern department store are therefore almost indistinguishable, except that, because of the momentary shortages, the university offers momentarily a wider variety of goods than the department store.

The university's role, Hutchins feels, is to bring about that transformation in the minds and hearts of men which will lead ultimately to the abolition of war—a task "so urgent that the triviality and frivolity of American education and the petty and selfish concern of its leaders seem blasphemous as well as suicidal."

In the last section—"Works of Thought and Scholarship"—the scientist's opinion is presented by the astronomer, S. Chandrasekhar, the mathematician's by John von Neumann, the historian's by Professor C. H. McIlwain of Harvard. Chandrasekhar's lecture attempts to explain the ultimate values of science in terms of examples illustrating the universality of the basic laws of science (Kepler's and Newton's laws), the making of "predictions based on basic laws" (Halley's comet, Dirac's prediction of the existence of the positron, Einstein's prediction of the deflection of light in a gravitational field) and "identifications resulting from the basic laws" (the discovery of helium as an element of earth after its identification in the spectrum of the sun, the finding of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

negative ion of hydrogen in the sun after theoretical predictions that it must exist—although it has not yet been isolated in the laboratory).

McIlwain gives an admirable account of some of the problems of his own discipline as it seeks to scan the "seamless web of history." The high duty of the virtuous historian, as Thomas Madox wrote in his great *History of the Exchequer,* is to avoid "putting fallacies upon the publick." How apt, how poignantly apt, for so many of our most respected scribblers. I call to the attention of Senator Fulbright, in light of his heart-wringing plea for legislators, the quotation from Edmund Burke given by Professor McIlwain:

> The distempers of monarchy were the great subjects of apprehension and distress, in the last century; in this, the distempers of Parliament . . . this change from an immediate state of procuration and delegation to a course of acting as from original power, is the way in which all the popular magistracies in the world have been perverted from their purposes. . . . The House of Commons can never be a control on other parts of government, unless they are controlled themselves by their constituents.

Von Neumann's I regard as the most original contribution of the book, although in style and construction it is certain to repel any but his most determined admirers. (I, unashamedly, am in that class.) Mathematics is thought to be the most austere and theoretical of activities, untinctured with empirical attributes, breathing a high canonic existence remote from the furniture of earth. Five apples and three apples may make eight apples, but so far as mathematics is concerned, the fact is merely incidental; indeed, if the sum were nine, or six, the foundations of mathematics would not totter.

Von Neumann points out, nevertheless, that "much of the best mathematical inspiration comes from experience [the decimal system and our ten fingers?] and that it is hardly possible to believe in the existence of an absolute immutable concept of mathematical rigor, dissociated from all human experience." Mathematical ideas which originate in "empirics," even if the "genealogy is long and obscure," are the most fruitful within the domain of mathematics itself and the most valuable in the greater service of science to society. The further removed they are from these origins, the more there is of a mere proliferation of complex, disorganized details: mathematics degenerates to pure "estheticizing" and succumbs at last to "abstract inbreeding." A brilliant analysis which by itself, for me, justifies the book.

The truth is mighty but will it prevail? One is not led to an optimistic answer on the strength of the counsel offered in this book. Perhaps the most glaring omission is the failure to include a single lecture by a sociologist or a psychologist who would speak of the mind itself and of the influence of man's nature on his thought and on the condition of society. War is made in the minds of men, as Jan Smuts has reminded us, and so, of course, is peace. Clearly felt or dimly sensed, whether by the mass of humanity or by the informed few, peace is that work of mind most universally sought. I doubt, however, that to the works of the mind, as here portrayed, men would be willing to ascribe great thaumaturgic qualities or to rest upon them their hope for survival.

WORTH REPRINTING

THE OTHER HOUSE, by Henry James. Introduction by Leon Edel (New Directions; $3).

THE ART OF FICTION AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Henry James. Introduction by Morris Roberts (Oxford University Press; $3.75).

PORTRAITS OF PLACES, by Henry James. Introductory Essay by George Alvin Finch (Lear Publishers; $3.50).

THE PRINCESS CASAMASSIMA, by Henry James. Introduction by Lionel Trilling (The Macmillan Company; two vols., $6).

SIXTY YEARS AGO, in a moment of low spirits at the state of his reputation, Henry James consoled himself with the reflection that "some day, all my buried prose will kick off its various tombstones at once." For several years now the excitement in the graveyard has been intense; the titles above are the most recent exhumations.

The Other House, a little-known novel, was first written as a play. Then, in 1896, it was rewritten in its present form, and later reconverted into a play. Because of its close association with James's work for the theatre, illustrating the effects of that practice in his fiction, and because its action affords an extreme example of James's fascination by brutality and violence, *The Other House* is particularly interesting and would repay close examination, if space permitted.

The Art of Fiction is a selection from James's essays on novelists and the novel form, reprinted, for the most part, from *Partial Portraits* and *Notes on Novelists with Some Other Notes.* Emphasis is on those Continental writers James studied so assiduously—Balzac, de Maupassant, Flaubert and Turgenev. The pieces illuminate James's own concept of his art as well as his efforts (more persistent than any of his time) to introduce, through his own work, the qualities of those writers into our fiction.

Portraits of Places is valuable either as a curiosity or as incidental to a larger interest in its author. First published in 1883, it is a collection of sketches by the American traveler of the European scene. Quite frankly a travel book, it is concerned with externals, with the conventionally picturesque, and its guesses at social notes are unusually prim and occasionally ludicrous. For instance, James is provoked by a "recumbent British tramp" in the Green Park to remark, "I may do them great injustice, but I always assume that they have had a taste of penal servitude." And the following typical lines must disappoint anyone familiar with James's sense of place at its famous best: "I don't exactly understand the association, but I know that when I look off to the left [from the Thames] at the East India Docks, or pass under the dark, hugely-piled bridges, where the railway trains and the human processions are forever moving, I feel a kind of imaginative thrill." This vague, shy, half-apologetic response is an extraordinary dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tance from *The American Scene*, or from the direct vision into the multitudinous complexities and the evoked London life in *The Princess Casamassima.*

That beautiful novel is, I think, James's supreme achievement as poet of the city. London contains and propels the story as Paris does *The Ambassadors.* But in the latter novel it is a limited Paris, historic, fashionable and artistic, lit by an unfailing glow of romance and nostalgia. "The feeling and smell of the carboniferous London damp" pervade a more extensive scene, and by following it into neighborhoods where he might be expected to lose himself hopelessly, James exhibits a rare triumph of the imagination.

He undertook to write a novel about the London poor and about the ferment of secret revolutionary societies which was a feature of life in European cities during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In an introduction which is a model of its kind, Lionel Trilling demonstrates the "striking literal accuracy" of James's treatment of his subject. "He understands society as crowds and police, as a field of justice and injustice, reform and revolution."

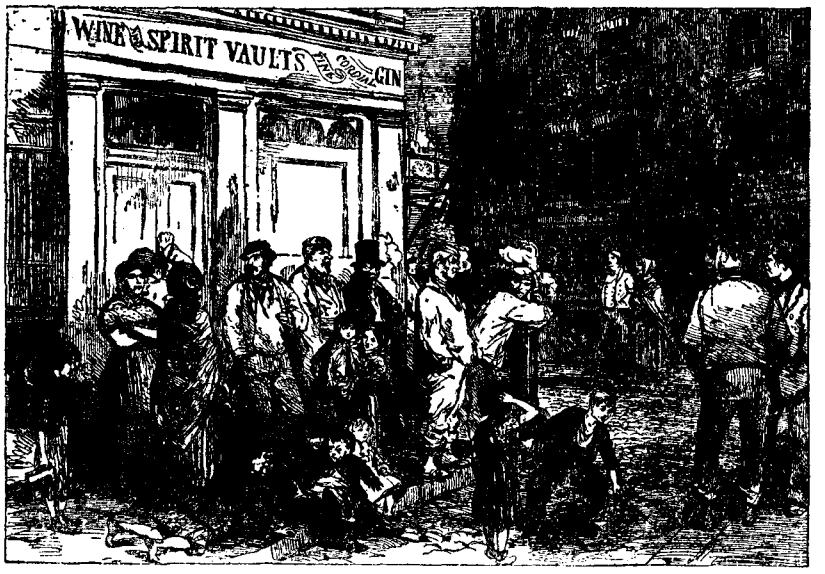
James said of himself "I have the imagination of disaster—and see life as ferocious and sinister," which might prepare us for his success with such a theme. But for the *information* and *experience* necessary to such a subject, James went straight to his sense of the city itself, absorbed in his inveterate habit of walking the streets. "The prime idea," he tells us in his preface to the novel, "was unmistakably the ripe round fruit of perambulation."

He put the burden of verisimilitude on London itself. "If I made my appearances live, what was this but the utmost one could do with them?" Any wide, sympathetic view of a city must be of the city of the poor, the citizen of the streets, the homeless or the wanderer in public places. James recreated London and it peopled itself.

To introduce his prowling vision into the novel, James had his not infrequent recourse to a central responsive intelligence: here in the person of the little bookbinder, Hyacinth Robinson. "I had only to conceive his watching the same public show . . . I had watched myself, and of his watching very much as I had watched; save indeed for one little difference." Little as it is, it's all the difference: Hyacinth is poor; the spectacle of the great city is largely representative to him of opportunity denied. But if "he was one of the disinherited, one of the expropriated," he is necessarily, as a Jamesian hero, "one of the exceptionally interesting."

The origin of this interest is his mysterious birth as the natural son of a British nobleman by a French working woman who murders the father. Hyacinth has "an account to settle"; he is bound in a conspiracy to destroy the existing social order, "but all the same he was happy to feel he had blood in his veins that would account for the finest sensibilities." It was "his fate to be divided to the point of torture, to be split open by sympathies that pulled him in different ways."

It deserves mention that the present edition of the book is an appropriate tribute to Hyacinth's craft. It is published in two charming volumes which are a convenience to the hand and a delight to the eye. JOHN FARRELLY



LONDON: SUNDAY MORNING IN 1856 THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

PRESS-AGENT DIPLOMACY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR: 1941. A Study in Appearances and Realities, by Charles A. Beard (Yale University Press; $5).

THE CHIEF RESPONSIBILITY for this book rests with President Roosevelt and other principal authors of the executive branch of the federal government who in 1941 fell into the habit of dissembling in order to advance their notion of the proper foreign policy for the United States. Beard would have been unable to compose the volume if those men had been consistently frank and direct in their statements.

The book argues on the basis of the public record that the United States went to war in December, 1941, because President Roosevelt wanted us to be in the fight. Instead of smirking at this dubious theme, the present executive officials in Washington should regard the book as a warning against their own indulgence in misrepresentation respecting the country's foreign relations. The Administration is apparently becoming fixed in its habit of soliciting support for its changing program by the use of press agents' arguments, calculated to dazzle rather than to inform.

All know today, for example, that the Truman Doctrine in operation is but a military instrument for holding the Communist army at bay in Greece,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but the President and his associates lured the country into accepting the Doctrine by advancing it as a means for improving the economic lot of the Greek people and providing them with a foundation on which to build political freedom. Is it not odd that since March the Administration has been demanding a draft law, but that in January, when the legislative fate of the European Recovery Program was still uncertain, Secretary of Defense Forrestal told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the ERP was a substitute for the draft? Washington is filled with earnest gullibles who regularly justify this sort of verbal dishonesty on the ground that it is vital to the intelligent development of sound foreign policy. Actually, it leads to confusion and cynicism, as is proved by the example of Beard.

Beard makes his case against President Roosevelt, as the political Pied Piper who led the unwitting citizens into battle, by comparing statements and facts. He demonstrates that the "appearances" of what the Roosevelt Administration intended to achieve by lend-lease and the Atlantic Conference, and of what led up to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor differ from the "realities" underlying those matters. The book is a sequel to the author's *American Foreign Policy in the Making: 1932-1940* (Yale University, 1946), which, although its purpose was not clear, portrayed a vacillating Roosevelt, uncertain and inconsistent in foreign policy through the conclusion of the year when World War II began. The present volume, on the other hand, is a clear study in consistency, with the President portrayed as bearing on a steady course toward involvement in war. The author's principal source of information about the "realities" is the record of the congressional hearings on the Pearl Harbor disaster.

Beard is privileged to write within whatever limitations he sets himself. We should not quarrel with his book because it is not some other book. But the method of study he has followed in this case is unsatisfactory. The story of our times is not embedded whole in any particular statements, candid or mendacious, by any particular set of officials. Beard makes a strong case for believing that the Roosevelt Administration knew that the lend-lease bill would lead to war, but it is still valid to think that the United States would inevitably have got into World War II with or without lend-lease. The author seems to consider war as a matter imprisoned in a faucet which one can turn on or keep closed at will. He overlooks the possibility that World War II was the climax of a conflict between forces over which Roosevelt had no control whatever.

The book does not support the author's theme. Beard presents convincing evidence that President Roosevelt pressed toward war almost from the moment that Germany invaded Poland; but he does not satisfy the reader that this alleged desire of Roosevelt's was the telling factor which put the United States into the war. In short, he fails to obliterate the possibility that the United States would have fought in World War II no matter who was President. The efforts of Beard to ascribe national policy to personal ambition or predilection does not come off.

As a description of what precipitated American belligerency in World War II, this book is merely an assemblage of curiosa. But as an alarm bell to jar us into serious contemplation of the rights of the public and the duties of officials in the exposition of truth where foreign affairs are concerned, it has great value. The State Department eternally whines that neither Congress nor the public is alert to the foreign-policy requirements of the USA. Neither Congress nor the public ever will become alert as long as the President and the State Department persist in describing those requirements in terms of sweet baloney.

BLAIR BOLLES

THEATRE: The Atom and Cocteau

THERE ARE two special ways of fooling oneself in the theatre: one is to suppose that what is not art is unimportant, the other is to believe that what is literate is literature.

As its final production of the invitation series, the Experimental Theatre presented "E=MC²," by Hallie Flanagan Davis. It puts the living-newspaper technique to use in an exposition of problems arising out of developments in atomic energy.

The living newspaper is a combination lecture, editorial, documentary, mass meeting, comic strip, vaudeville and ballet designed to provide instruction on subjects of immediate social interest. It served the Russians (between 1917-32) as a means of communicating needed information to outlying sections of their country. I believe it is still in use for similar purposes in China. The best known American productions in this vein were "One-Third of a Nation" and "Power," as done by the lamented Federal Theatre Project.

The night I saw "E=MC²," in a tiny hall off the Columbia University campus, it struck me that the part of the audience which constituted its intelligentsia were, as usual, talking like dopes. It was a cheap device, they said, to represent the Atom as a high-spirited gal—even when she was played by as pleasing and talented a young person as Billie Lou Watt. It was pretty corny too, they thought, to put Cleo, the Muse of History, on skates. The writing lacked poetry, and only poetry could give wings to so much bare exposition.

All this talk seemed to me as relevant as a report on a new medicine in terms of its delightfulness as perfume. Aside from the fact that I found the performance altogether engaging as a show, or that I might compare a living newspaper with a medieval mor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ality play, the importance of the occasion lay mainly in its non-theatrical, its non-Broadway, its positively non-critics-circle aspect. The performance was valuable as a laboratory demonstration of something that should be given—more or less elaborately—in high schools, colleges, factories, trade-union halls, libraries, fraternal lodges and free public places throughout the country without regard for how anyone at all may evaluate it as "art" or as an entry into somebody's listing of the ten best plays of the year.

I do not suppose that if such things as "E=MC²" were to be shown in the manner I suggest that the day of general enlightenment would immediately ensue. I believe it would be a useful elementary-school lesson on a serious subject that the educated quite as much as the uneducated might pleasurably and profitably pursue.

As a further example of militant Philistinism, I say that I almost resent the application of such an adjective as "provocative" to Jean Cocteau's "The Infernal Machine." It is being given down at the Provincetown Playhouse by a creditable new acting group which might put its fresh talents into far more creative service.

Such groups are always faced with the problem of finding suitable plays in which to present themselves. They hope to avoid the hackneyed, and the more promising new plays are rarely available to them. A play like "The Infernal Machine," bearing the glamorous name of Jean Cocteau and the accolade of respected critics, leads these young people to believe that it will be deemed an attractive as well as a worthy choice. This might be called corruption by the avant-garde, which is perhaps even more corrosive than corruption by commerce.

Cocteau, jack-of-all-arts with a brilliant gift for metaphor in almost every domain, is essentially an esthetic firefly. While his light is sometimes captivating, it is rarely warm or illuminating. The entertainment it offers is chiefly for coterie professionals, tired of the banal and of insufficient spiritual energy to create new values. At best, Cocteau is a kind of ultra-sophisticated decorator whose constant alertness and intelligence made excellent publicity on behalf of composers like Milhaud, Auric, Poulenc, painters like de Chirico and Picasso and certain—generally minor—poets and novelists.

"The Infernal Machine" is an occasionally deft literary exercise of a kind frequently indulged in by French literati—the rewriting and "modernization" of classic themes—in this instance, the story of King Oedipus. Though it has a few of the amusing conceits that are to be expected of a bright Parisian poetaster, it has as much valid life as a conservatory student's fugue in the manner of Bach or an Oxford don's tragedy in the mode of Seneca. HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC: Reiner and Others

If you were to ask an experienced orchestra player to name the six most accomplished masters of conducting technique, he would almost surely include Fritz Reiner. Nobody leads an orchestra with more ease and fewer needless gestures. He sets and keeps a practicable pace, provides necessary cues for entrances, shapes phrases and cadences, and prepares and resolves climaxes. He is intelligible and reasonable; he never has to fake, and he never conducts for the audience at the expense of the orchestra.

These substantial merits mark all three of Reiner's recent recordings with the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, from which he resigned a few months ago after ten years as its conductor. The best of the three is Mozart's G Minor Symphony (Columbia MM-727, $4.75; on vinylite, MMV-727, $6.85), in which he finds an attractive middle ground between the precious delicacy some conductors affect and the somewhat strident overdramatization of the far from definitive Toscanini version.

The recording of Strauss's "Ein Heldenleben" (Columbia MM-748; $7.25) should have turned out better than it did. From time to time Reiner seems to lose enthusiasm for his musical task; it is as though his fabulous technical ease tempted him to be too casual about a serious undertaking. This intermittent failure of zeal has barred him from the permanent possession of any top orchestra. The beginning of his "Heldenleben" is perfunctory; the elegiac epilogue does not achieve the proper tone of serene resignation; and the orchestra often sounds turgid.

In Ravel's "La Valse" (Columbia MX-296; $3.50) Reiner is back in form, but in my copy the surface noise is loud and the orchestral tone throughout is dully reproduced. This recording will offer no threat to Pierre Monteux's extraordinary "La Valse" on Victor.

A more gratifying new Ravel release is the Piano Concerto (the one for two hands), played by Leonard Bernstein, who also conducts the accompaniment by the Philharmonia Orchestra of London (RCA Victor DM-1209, $4.75; on vinylite, DV-15, $7). An admirer of American jazz in his last years, Ravel embarked upon one of his most sophisticated adventures with it in this music, and Bernstein gives the score wonderful life, with the aid of a bright recording job. (The extra side contains two of Bernstein's own "Seven Anniversaries" for piano solo.) Another discriminating Ravel performance is provided by Oscar Shumsky and Bernard Greenhouse in one of the composer's most advanced scores, the sparse, linear Sonata for Violin and Cello. Unfortunately this album is available only by subscription (Concert Hall B-4).

If you can afford them, all the Concert Hall sets maintain a high artistic and mechanical level. A choice

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PARAMOUNT Presents
JEAN ARTHUR • MARLENE DIETRICH
JOHN LUND
IN
"A Foreign Affair"
IN PERSON
JO STAFFORD
Plus GEORGIE KAYE • Plus THE LANE BROS.
Extra SAM DONAHUE AND HIS ORCHESTRA
NOW TIMES SQUARE PARAMOUNT Midnight Feature Nightly

BOOKS

SEND US THAT LIST of books you've been hunting. We'll find the "elusive things." HELEN HAYNES BOOK SEARCHERS, Dept. R, 105 St. Alphonsus St., Boston 20, Mass.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES. $1.43 carton Postpaid. Insured. Minimum order 5. Send check, money order: P. X. SALES, Box 335, Newark, DELAWARE.

FARMS & ACREAGE

8-ROOM COLONIAL; electricity; running water, barn; 5 acres; 6 miles from Tanglewood; good condition; bargain $5500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York and Lenox, Mass.

8-ROOM COLONIAL; bath; electricity; 65 acres; barns, near mountain lake and Tanglewood; $9000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

FOR RENT

MAGNIFICENT First National Bank Building, 20,000 square feet at $14,000 net rental at heavy traffic junction of Mamaroneck Avenue & Boston Post Road in Mamaroneck. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York. Tel. 2515-M.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to Veterans under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for FREE book. State if G. I. Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

SPANISH, FRENCH, HEBREW, ARABIC. 25 other languages PHONOGRAPH courses. ALL MAKES, ALL METHODS. New, used, sold, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York. MU 3-1093.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

WRITERS! Your work should be sold? Send for circular! Daniel S. Mead, 264 Fifth Avenue, New York City 1.

SPEECHES WRITTEN

LET ME DO your speech writing on any subject. Have access to exceptional library facilities. Work well done—typed—guaranteed. Box 321, Springfield, Illinois.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPTS AND THESIS TYPING, intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office Service, 17 East 48th St., N. Y. C., PL 3-1334.

delicacy is the collection of Domenico Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas played by Ralph Kirkpatrick (B-5). One of the world's top Scarlatti experts, Kirkpatrick has found that many of the sonatas were intended to be performed in pairs, and in these two-part works he discovers a depth and scope to Scarlatti's invention that you would not suspect from any other current recordings. In the field of twentieth-century music, Concert Hall helps round out the Stravinsky catalogue with the Gordon String Quartet's expert revival of two works of approximately thirty years ago—the Concertino for String Quartet and the gratingly dissonant, curt little Three Pieces for String Quartet (B-6).

Stravinsky records are blossoming these days. The composer himself directs the RCA Victor Orchestra in the Divertimento from "Le Baiser de la Fée" (RCA Victor DM-1202; $4.75), a ballet written in tribute to "the muse of Tschaikovsky" and full of familiar quotations. No Stravinsky music is easier to take, for the suite is melodious and sparkling by turns, and always friendly in harmonic style.

At Tanglewood last summer Leonard Bernstein took a small group of Boston Symphony Orchestra men aside to record "L'Histoire du Soldat" and the Octet for Wind Instruments, which are now issued in another distinguished RCA Victor Stravinsky album (DM-1197; $7.25). "L'Histoire du Soldat," a cynical series of marches and dance tunes scored with great virtuosity for seven solo instruments, was written in 1919 for a dance-play recounting the evil fortunes of a deserting soldier who sold himself to the Devil. The Octet, dating from the same period, is an essay in instrumental textures and polyphony, and Stravinsky originally demanded that it should be played without expression. Both pieces are top-drawer Stravinsky, in spite of the initial difficulties of listening. They belong in the library of everyone who is willing to understand and enjoy one of our most original and forceful musical minds.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Bad News from Abroad

DOWN THE ENDLESS, oily miles of the Amazon, Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, J. Arthur Rank's number-one doubles team, have brought the old story of the noble savage beset by civilization. "The End of the River" is a tedious journey to a well-known destination, insufficiently enlivened with some good jungle photography and a couple of interludes of really superb folksong.

The dramatic impact of the story is laid on the shoulders of the young Indian, and Sabu, who plays him, is endowed with a pair that are more sturdy than talented. The elephant boy has grown into a stocky youth who excels at looking sulky and acts as though he were homesick for the night life of Mayfair. At only one point—when a sidewalk huckster tries to sell him a bright silk shirt—did Sabu wake up enough to take an active interest in his role of primitive and unlettered misery.

The white men who abuse him suffer from the traditional colonial complaints of avarice, drunkenness, lechery and tropical disease, with in this case the added evil of bush-league fascism masquerading as a waterfront union. Fortunately for himself, the youth commits a murder before he gets too far enmeshed in civilization, and the British sense of fair play, triumphing over conventional justice, restores him to the happiness of his river jungle. "The End of the River" is a serious film with moments of effective moodiness, but you wouldn't call it rousing entertainment.

On the internal evidence of "Nais," it appears that Fernandel, one of France's most amusing comics, has been nagging Marcel Pagnol for a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tragic role and that Pagnol in turn has let him get the notion out of his system as cheaply as possible. From Zola's *Nais Micoulin*, the two of them have concocted a vulgar little story about a spoiled young gentleman who seduces the caretaker's daughter, almost falls into a series of murderous traps set by the pathologically irritated caretaker and is saved by his onetime playmate, now servant, who himself loves the girl with a doglike hopelessness. This last role Fernandel plays with a hump on his back, a device that fails to make him look like either a hunchback or a tragedian.

The film is talkative, banal, half-hearted. It may have been a good purge for Fernandel's green sickness, but that is no reason for the rest of us to swallow it.

Austria has come back into the movie business with a new adaptation of "Lysistrata." The story has obvious attractions for a war-sick people, but this film, made in the American sector of Vienna, is not going to succeed in the export market. It is a pallid, insecure performance which breaks now and then into Gilbert and Sullivan operatics of a particularly woeful sprightliness.

An unhappy combination of stridency and coyness makes the troupe seem to imitate the style of the dramatic club's contribution to the hilarity of graduation week. It is not a manner becoming to this most famous episode in the battle between the sexes.

ROBERT HATCH

RADIO-TELEVISION: GOP on the Air

Convention Hall, Philadelphia

IT IS JUST POSSIBLE that radio and television have taught the politicians here a lesson in democracy; almost certainly they have instructed the listening and watching public. The Republican convention has been well covered by the broadcast media. What your sets have picked up has been accurate and surprisingly complete; it has also been phony and dull.

Forgetting for the moment any question of democratic procedure, convention management from the strict viewpoint of air showmanship is exactly 24 years behind the times. When the Republicans convened to nominate Calvin Coolidge in Cleveland, in 1924, their hall manager was a young Cleveland lawyer, James Jappe. Among the new techniques he helped develop was radio coverage, handled that time by Graham McNamee with a single microphone. This year, the microphones are a forest and television cameras are at work. But Jim Jappe, still convention-hall manager for the GOP, is doing his job in terms of the Coolidge era.

The addition of television to radio's own great technical advances made the promise for this convention exciting. On a cold day last April, when Jim Jappe and I drove out there, the hall was empty and drafty. It took on warmth and became peopled with potentialities as he unfolded the blueprints and showed me where the big networks would have their control booths, high over the platform and looking through picture windows straight at the massed assemblage be-

SUMNER WELLES

We Need Not Fail

What is the Palestine issue? What is its background? What have the Powers done about it? And most of all, what relation does it have to the problem of peace and the integrity of the United Nations?

"This is the hour when the fate of western civilization is at stake", writes Sumner Welles and his book is written in the hope that the fatal chain of Manchuria, Spain, Munich, Dunkirk will not be forged again.

At all bookstores, $2.50 HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

EVERYONE LIKES EVERYONE
when a good time is being had by all. Write today for a guide to the splendid accommodations, fine food, stimulating company, full entertainment staff, organized sports program (tennis, baseball, swimming, handball, riding, etc.), and dancing, at attractive rates, with convenient bus, train or door-to-door taxi service available to you. For a wonderful vacation, make an early reservation at
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

GREENMOUNT LODGE
PERU, VERMONT
This hospitable Lodge is high in the rolling Green Mts. Fine golfing in nearby Manchester. Beautiful lake swimming. Riding, fishing, hiking. Archery, badminton, ping-pong or "just loafing in the sun." Homey bedrooms. Library and recordings. Small informal group. And marvelous food.
Attractive rates. For information:
WHITE MOUNTAIN SKI SHOP
New York City: 560 Fifth Avenue, LOngacre 5-4999
Great Neck: 215 Middleneck Rd. Great Neck 5830

Stonegate ON LONG LAKE LODGE N.Y.
Informal Adult Resort in Adirondacks
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Limited to 90 • Open Thru Sept. • Lectures
Concert Trio • Arts & Crafts • Hay Fever Free
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. CI 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Director

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. All outdoor activities. Tennis, Golf, Bicycles. Mile-long lake. All water sports. Fine fishing. Varied indoor program. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Television. Superb library of books and recordings. Moderate rates.

Deuel Hollow House
WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691
In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volleyball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing.
Complete Informality—Adults
RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS

MEET THE BREEZE AT
WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Boating, swimming, fishing, volley ball, badminton, ping-pong, movies, records, books, etc. Excellent home cooking, congenial hosts.
Rates: $40-$45
65 miles from New York City
JANE C. ARENZ R. D. No. 1 WALDEN, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 346-J-2

VINEYARD LODGE
Modern comforts in quaint Dutch Colonial setting.
Woodland trails, bicycling, library, recordings.
fireplace, swimming, American-Jewish cuisine.
Adults only.
Phone Kingston 3430 Ulster Park, N. Y.

low. He pointed to the balconies where two triangular platforms would serve the television and newsreel cameramen.

Today, it's all true. The physical setup has been as good as a quarter-century of broadcast experimentation could make it—and that's almost perfect. It has been manned by the best people in radio and television. All the trained seals were on hand—H. V. Kaltenborn and Lowell Thomas; Edward R. Murrow and Elmer Davis; Arthur Gaeth; Bob Trout; Fulton Lewis Jr.; Albert Warner; William L. Shirer; Eric Sevareid. And it is precisely that perfection of broadcast arrangements which has made this convention's detachment from reality so evident.

As in the Coolidge-Jappe era of 1924, a convention is still arranged only for the "studio audience." The millions of listeners—CBS says 62 million of them tuned in the opening night of the convention—are mere eavesdroppers. The television people are talking big about a total of ten million viewers—the number is probably much closer to two million, at the rate of five people to each of the 350,000 receiving sets sold, with a few hundred thousand thrown in for good measure. Whatever the number, those who saw the convention on their iconoscopes were not taken into account by the convention planners. The show and its trappings are for the delegates, the alternates, the few invited guests and gate crashers. The majority of these are the political hewers of wood in from the crossroads; they are content with what is provided for them.

On the radio, however, you can hear that there is little excitement when a Governor makes a keynote speech. Now on television you can see that empty chairs outnumber the occupied seats during long stretches of official convention time. The commentators on the radio try hard, but they are—in the main—honest enough to tell you that nothing in particular is going on.

In the NBC control booth, an office boy remarked on opening night:

"We'll never cop the Lux audience this way." The boy need not have wor-

RESORTS

Crystal Lake LODGE
CHESTERTOWN, NEW YORK
Modern Adult Camp in the Adirondacks
FOR AN EXCITING VACATION
• Private 60-acre Lake • Square Dancing (Dave Hahn)
• All Sports • Cocktail Lounge
• Excellent Cuisine • Full Social Staff & Orchestra
Chestertown 3830 City Inf. Tivoli 2-5572

OPEN ALL YEAR « » OPEN ALL YEAR
Terrace View House
Catskill Mts. SO. DURHAM, N. Y. Alti. 2400 ft.
Viennese-American cuisine. Running water, beautiful view, all sports. Pollen-free area.
July & August: $40 to $45 weekly
Cal. Cairo 3-F-14 • Ask for Booklets

THE WOODLANDS
AN ADULT RESORT
FOR THE SPIRITED: hiking, swimming, tennis, handball, volley ball, trout fishing, badminton, archery, folk dancing, good eating.
FOR THE LAZYBONES: handicrafts, Art Classes with Zenk, sound movies, modern book and record library, open fireplace, good eating.
Rates: $47.50 and $50.00 weekly
• Telephone: Phoenicia 33F4 • Siggie Goldner •

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy Estate in the "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Private swimming pool. Golf nearby. Easy transportation. Delicious American-Jewish cooking.
Attractive Rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake. 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square and folk dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

VERMONT VACATION

SMOKESHIRE WAY: 5½ hrs from N. Y. A never-to-be-forgotten vacation in the friendly Green Mts., 2000 feet altitude. Lovely Colonial home and new bungalows. Stately pines, majestic maples, graceful elms. Swimming, sports, records and books. $48-$52 week. Folder. R. F. D. No. 1, CHESTER DEPOT.

TIRED? Relax on small farm, modern conveniences. Beautiful scenery. Excellent cuisine. Elvira Olson, R. F. D. No. 2, Plainfield, Vermont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ried; all the networks were stuck with the same turkey at the same time.

There is opportunity here for new political braintrusters. Large rallies devoted to serious purpose have been prepared carefully in the past, "scripted" in such a way as to appeal not only to the relatively few who were present but to radio audiences everywhere. They have been made into documentary pageants which underscored important ideas with showmanship. But that has been possible only when the goal was openly revealed, when the aim pursued was equal to the drama of its setting. Obviously, such factors did not operate in Philadelphia. What, then, could radio and television have recorded but bombast and boredom? SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Stet!

The master index is only partly completed. Another two years will be required to bring it up to date. Eventually it will contain questionable information on every federal worker and applicant for a government job. – *Jerry Kluttz in the Washington* Post.

Oversight

WOMEN'S BODY
FOUND IN ABANDONED
TRUCK MINUS LICENSE TAG

– *Headline in the Chicago* Tribune.

For Auld Lang Syne

Suddenly, he meets the daughter of a millionaire, makes love to her, then refuses $35,000 he is given for an annulment of the marriage. The girl reminds him, it appears, of his grandmother whom he had stoned to death when he was a boy. – *From a book review in the* Saturday Review of Literature.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

green mansions
In the Adirondacks, Warrensburg, N. Y.
N. Y. Offices: 55 West 42nd St., BRyant 9-1738
Lena Barish — Sam Garlen, DIRECTORS
write for booklet R

HILLTOP Lodge
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
65 Miles from N. Y. C.
R. R. Station: Pawling, N. Y.
Tel. Hopewell Junction 2761
Every Sport & Recreation
ACCENT ON TENNIS
Social and Athletic Staffs
FOR THE UTMOST IN VACATION ENJOYMENT
Directors:
Paul Wolfson & Sol Rothauser
N. Y. Office: 105 NASSAU ST.
Tel.: COrtlandt 7-3958
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y.

MAUD'S SUMMER-RAY
Maud and Rom, Mgt.
North Branch 6, Sullivan County, N. Y.
Telephone: Callicoon 95 or 148
NEWLY BUILT SWIMMING POOL
(With Overhead Solarium)
ORCHESTRA, ENTERTAINMENT, BAR.
DRAMA, TENNIS, ALL SPORTS
Folk Dancing • Group Dancing • Lectures
Call City Office: SPring 7-8574

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Swimming pool • Golf • Television
Unexcelled Music and Book Library
An Adult Resort 45 Miles from New York City
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
BOB ADLER & Cast of Stars • AL SHEER & Orchestra
Folk Dancing • Private Sandy Beach • Cozy Bar
Swimming, Rowing, Canoes, Bicycles, Horses, Handball
5 CHAMPIONSHIP TENNIS COURTS
All Sports — New Indoor Playroom
Phone: Chestertown 2830
N. Y. C. Office: 142 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
City Phone: MAin 4-8570 or 1230
An Informal Adult Camp on Schroon Lake
LEAH OKUN, Director

1½ Hours from New York City
WHITE GATES
WAPPINGERS FALLS NEW YORK
Offering unusual PARENT-CHILD accommodations. Playground, counselors
All Adult Sports Superior Cuisine
WH 3 9331 or GR 7-7596
Weekends: Wappingers Falls 469

Incomparable vacation spot. Luxurious accommodations and cuisine; best sports and social activities.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. - Tel. MAHOPAC 688

SACKS FARM
SAUGERTIES, N.Y.
Tel. 590-J
Real Country. Unusual Grounds. Pine woods. Interesting hiking. Modern, attractive accommodations. All sports, including horseback and bicycling. Finest food. Music library. Fair rates. Booklet.

THE FIELDSTONE
On Round Island Lake
√ HANDBALL • BICYCLES • PING PONG
√ TENNIS • fast clay courts
√ SWIMMING • BOATING • on natural lake
SO . . MAKE A DATE
PHONE 7965 MONROE, N. Y.

plum point
vacation fun year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

DIFFERENT FROM THE REST COME SEE FOR YOURSELF
Accommodates 55 • 29th Season
Rates: $12 a day, $70 a week
TED OHMER'S WESTERN VIEW FARM
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 440

friendly acres
for informal hospitality lovely old house in the Poconos; good food, good books and music; all sports except tennis. For adults. Reasonable rates. Write: RD 1, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Bushkill 18 R-11.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mama Hanson is the central character of a book, a play, and a recent movie starring Irene Dunne.

The wonderful thing about the Hanson family was the way they faced the future with confidence. That confidence was all due to Mama. "If anything goes wrong," she'd say, "there's always my Bank Account to pull us through."

Things worked out fine for the Hansons. And they never realized that Mama's Bank Account was Mama's own myth.

"I Remember Mama" proves something. It proves that, with a reserve fund in the present, you face the future with a confidence and faith that helps you *get results.*

But the average family can't be fooled with a myth. The average family needs to know that there are *real* savings, *real* security protecting them, good times and bad.

That's why so many families have begun to save the automatic, worryless way—with U. S. Savings Bonds.

Savings Bonds are government-guaranteed to pay back four dollars for every three, and in just ten years. It's an investment that's *safe*—it's an investment that *grows.*

And to make it simpler still, your government offers you two fine plans for their purchase: (1) The Payroll Savings Plan at your firm. (2) For those not on a payroll, the Bond-A-Month Plan at your bank.

AUTOMATIC SAVING IS SURE SAVING - U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED